

The Industrial Pioneer

An Illustrated Labor Magazine

©

June, 1926

ABOLITION
OF THE
WAGE SYSTEM

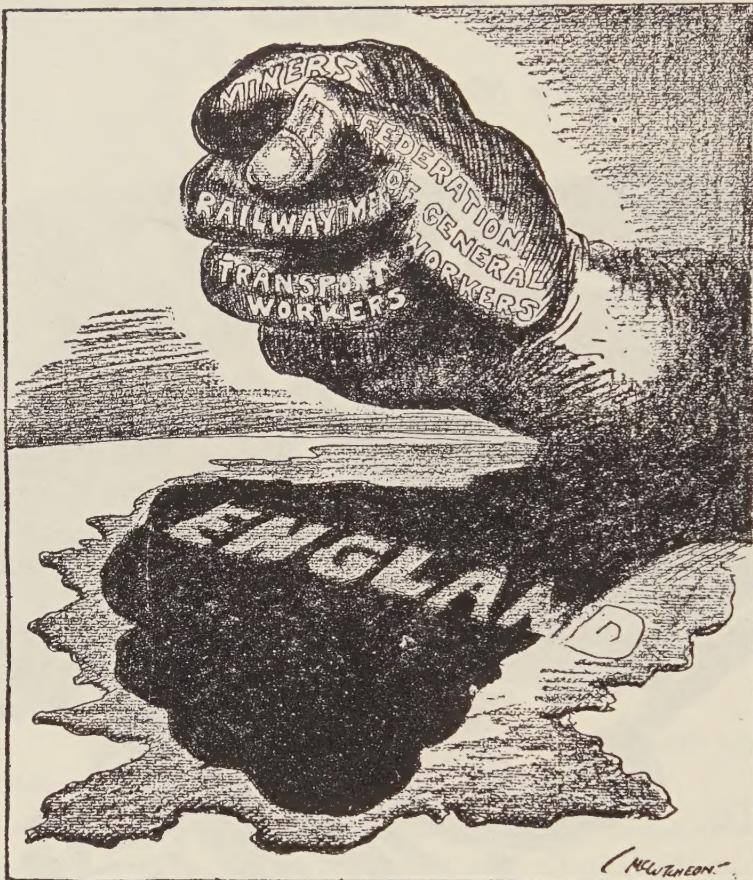
The Empire
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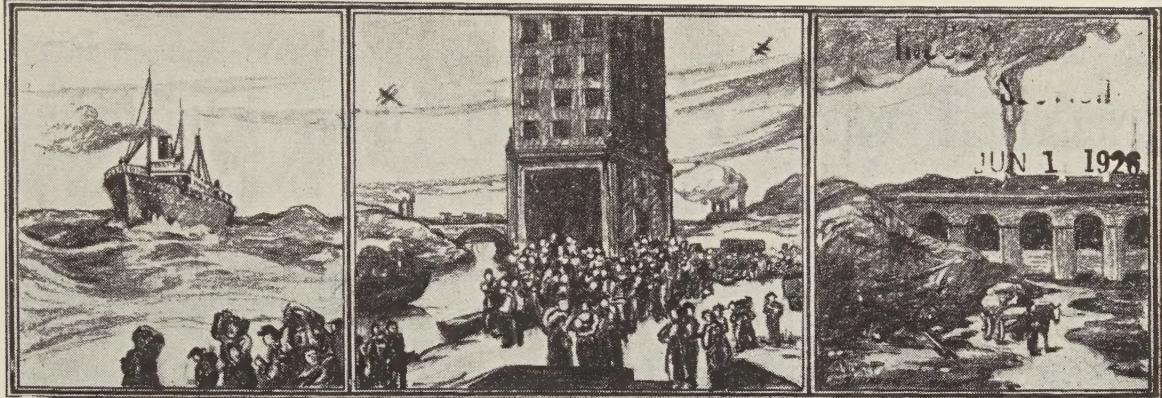
British Strike
Editorial

25 Cents

All Together for a Banner 110 Drive



Here Is the Morrow's Conqueror that Hangs Pall-Like Over the Lives of Britain's Predatory Powers. This Phalanx of Industrial Workers, Growing Invincible By Economic Direct Action, Is Swiftly and Surely Learning Its Strength and Destiny—and Will Strike Again and Again Its Paralyzing Blows Until Finally the British Parasites Lay Prostrate, Cowed and Helpless Before Labor's Almighty Industrial Solidarity.



The Industrial Pioneer

Edited by John A. Gahan

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All Together for a Banner Drive!

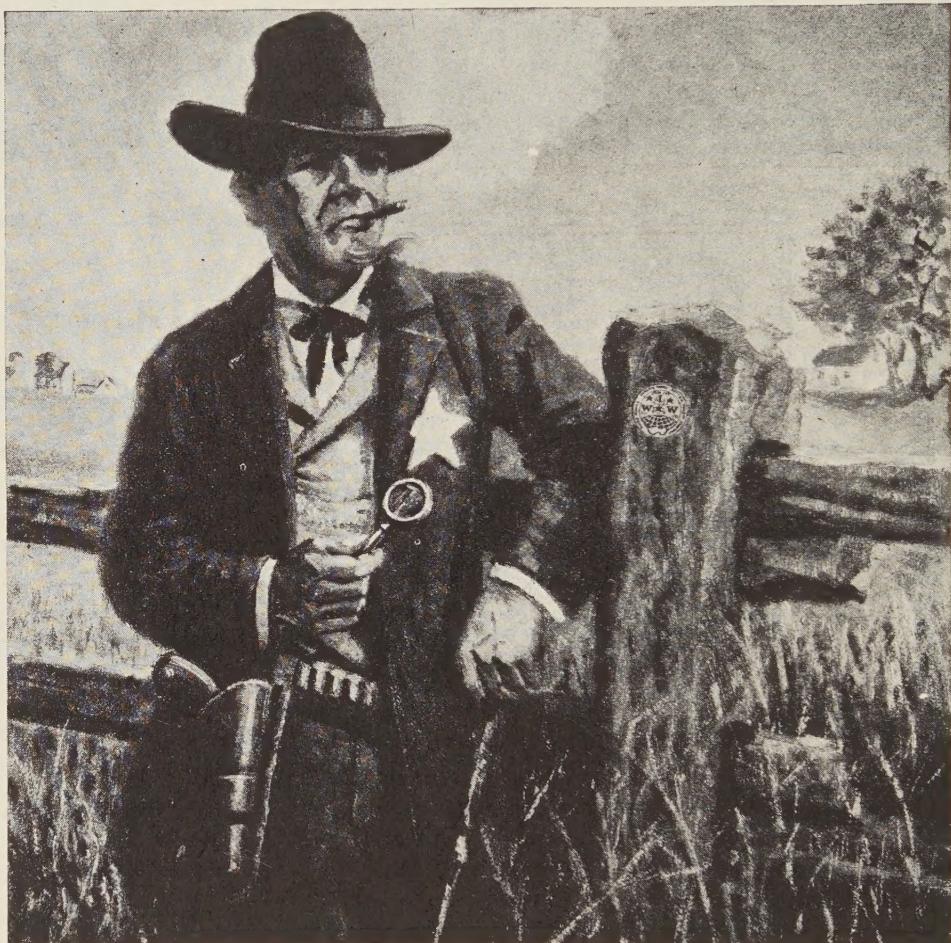
By Frank Thorpe

(Secretary-Treasurer of A. W. I. U. No. 110)



THESE lines are being written while the General Organization Committee of Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 110 are meeting in Chicago to prepare what should be the greatest organization campaign in the history of our Industrial Union. Mindful of the responsibility before us we must approach our problems with utmost earnestness. Success of the drive this year means industrial union progress of such vast proportions that even relatively few comprehend its significance. Our growth is tantamount to the greater development of the entire organization. Whenever an Industrial Union achieves advances, the other Industrial Unions and the General Headquarters are strengthened. Thus the purposes of the I. W. W. are forwarded.

This issue of The Industrial Pioneer reaches the field just prior to the One Ten Conference at Alva, Oklahoma, where our membership are going to continue preparations for the work of organization



Now Wouldn't That Make A Town Clown Swear!

that must be accomplished this year. Alva is the town where harvest workers each year begin their drive through the wheat belt. Our active membership dictated wisely at the last I. U. Convention when they designated this place for the Spring Conference. We need not dilate on the strategic value of their choice, its worth being obvious. But whatever the site of our deliberations they can be effective only if we work for organizational good, and work for it clear-eyed and determined to prosecute the plans which are formulated and adopted.

With this thought in mind it is timely for us to consider, in concise language, the chief problems confronting us. Denied opportunity to ride from town to town in the grain territory on passenger trains, for the reason that workers who are so socially necessary to insure the nation's bread are not considered worthy of wages sufficient to provide railroad tickets, the "hands" have, until recently, depended solely for transportation on freight trains. But now, with the advent of the harvest auto tramp, we are faced by a serious competition. What does this signify?

Formerly John Farmer was compelled to seek labor power among the groups gathered in towns. To a great extent he is still obliged to pursue this tactic. It is disadvantageous to him, and he does not like it. Approaching workers made stronger by association, he endlessly blurted his pious wish that things would be better if only he did not have to hunt the "pesky go-abouts" where they congregate. Then came the second to fifth-hand tin lizzie, and unorganized workers in twos, threes, fours and so on, rode rapidly to the farmhouses, where they had previously relied on the slower box cars. This innovation greatly aids the farmer. These workers, **apply to him for work**. Formerly the farmer approached them and **requested them to accept** work for him. By the new scheme the farmer meets applicants already less able to demand good wages and conditions because they are not with the collective power in the towns.

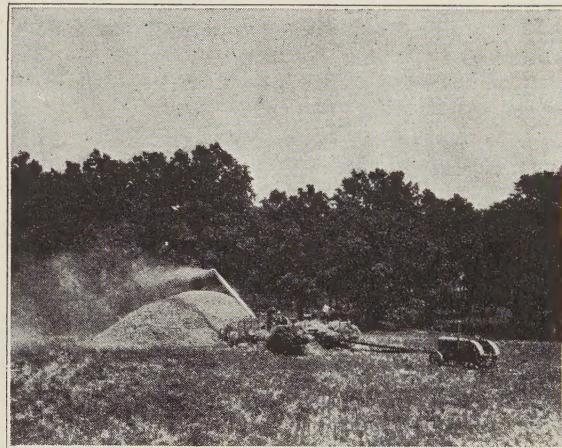
Since our work of organization must provide, and provide without delay, for bringing these auto tramps into the ranks of the A. W. I. U., we must tackle the job this year. Those harvest workers who are not to be reached in the towns and on the trains must be organized right on the jobs. Our members and delegates must get on the jobs as rapidly as they can and organize the auto camps. In this way, and in no other way, can we make an asset of what is now a menace on which we can not look with indifference or incompetency.

The "Coffee Grinder" Problem

Developments of productive machinery can not always be estimated solely by the size of machines used. There is a phenomenon in the small machine form which has entered the grain region, militating sharply against our task of uniting harvest workers. I speak of the increasing prevalence of small, 18- to 28-inch thrashing machines with three bundle racks. Readers not familiar with farm machinery require some light on this statement. Until a few years ago large, 72-inch, fourteen bundle rack thrashing machines, and sizes slightly smaller, were owned by thrashers who did contract work, moving the machines from farm to farm. The thrashers did the

hiring and fed the workers, who could stay from 60 to 90 days with a single employer.

Now the small, relatively inexpensive thrashing machines have practically supplanted the larger ones, except where four or five farmers go together in a co-operative and jointly own the big type machine. But for the most part 18- to 28-inch "coffee grinders" are used. Farmers can purchase them because



Coffee-Grinder In Operation

Courtesy International Harvester Co.

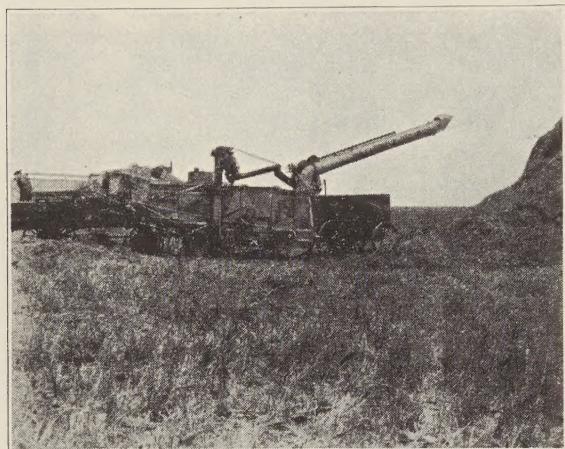
they are cheaper, and they can more easily operate them because they are enabled to put more members of the family to work on them, and, if necessary, get the neighbors to help. The runs on these machines on individual farms now average between 12 and 20 days. Thus can be seen how introduction of a greater number of machines is operating against employment of harvest wage slaves.

No Reason To Be Discouraged

From what has been described it appears that elimination of wage slaves from the domain of King Wheat is inevitable proportionately to the machine's advance. This is quite true, but not more so in agriculture than in other industries. It is a fact that machine invention is constantly throwing an augmenting horde of workers on the pile of jobless reserves. We contend that the only real and final solution is revolution by the workers so that they shall take possession of all land and productive tools, democratically apportioning labor and products equitably. But this is a task predicated on the presence of power, and we have no power, and consequently no rights, without industrial organization. A. W. I. U. No. 110 exists and moves to do in agriculture for organization what other I. W. W. Industrial Unions must do for unionism in their respective industries.

Our goal is very clear and our tactics are calculated to attain it, but we must learn to reach that goal of emancipation by meeting practical issues every day and all the time, or we shall be frustrated in the attempt to grasp our dreamland

of human happiness. So, in discussing matters of peculiar interest to our welfare we are dealing in subjects that have a vital interest to the general welfare of the working class. We should not lose sight of this two-fold aspect of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism, nor should we feel disheartened by the most seemingly insuperable



LARGE THRASHING MACHINE AT WORK
Courtesy International Harvester Company

obstacles raised by the masters to shut us from the light of freedom. We must point to that hateful barrier, show the slaves their class position in society, and suggest to them their almighty potentialities. In short, we must "fan the flames of discontent." Our organization must thrive on its ability to face issues squarely and to apply proper tactics fearlessly.

In spite of the auto tramps, and in spite of the "coffee grinders," we have an immense chance to organize this year in the harvest country. Experts predict that the crop will be at least twice as large as it was in 1925. And it is going to take many thousands of wage slaves, in addition to the auto tramps and home workers, to bring it in. There lies our chance for organization work.

Advertising Stunts

Another matter we must mention is that of the advertising done in post offices, public places and newspapers relating to the labor supply needed. As wages tend to fall when there are more workers than jobs, it is not a mystery why the numbers will be exaggerated. The purpose of such misstatements is to flood the harvest country with far more slaves than there are jobs for them to get on, and in this way create a competition for the jobs resulting in greater profits for John Farmer. And the fact that the holders of mortgages and commission men and wheat pit gamblers will skin him in turn is not our immediate concern. Therefore, give such propagan-

da about how many "hands" are needed a liberal discounting and you can not go far wrong.

This has become axiomatic among revolutionary workers: that they can not succeed in uniting their fellow workers without the powerful weapon of education. All members and delegates of One Ten who want to see an unprecedented success in building up our Industrial Union should recognize the matchless value of our publications for inculcating class consciousness into the working class. Accordingly it is your duty to take the publications into the field to the limit of your ability and to see that they reach the uneducated slaves. Make a supreme effort to put our papers and magazines on a better footing than now prevails. As we make our press stronger we make our Industrial Unions more powerful. There can be no other result.

One Ten Proud of Its Record

The solidarity of I. U. 110 has been tried in many a fiercely fought battle, and it has not been found wanting. We have battled hard and won many important victories. There is no finer record of working class achievement in the whole world than that which is the history of our organization, no matter what our faults have been. We have learned to fight for freedom and those who learn to struggle must learn to rise over their errors, to correct them, and to carry the conflict to advanced positions. Our victories have meant just this: we have by industrial solidarity been able to better our own lives and the lives of our fellow workers, even where many of them have failed to come under the standard of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism. Every gain we make is a gain for our class; it means improvement in the material conditions of the workers, and it constitutes a threat to organized thievery that even as I write this is being challenged as never before across the sea in England. Whatever we have done has been done by common understanding and organized action, and we can do nothing with other weapons.

Immediately before us is a season pregnant with promise for One Ten if we plan well and carry our plans through without faltering, without bickering, with the good, old fighting spirit that is so dear to the hearts of our rebels and so costly to the ruling class leeches. Last year, with poor crops, we succeeded in One Ten in organizing 8,507 agricultural workers. Ten thousand new members in 1926 is the least we should anticipate getting. Twice that number is not outside the range of possibility. Battling together, with good morale, and the Industrial Union interest uppermost, we should, when self-disciplined, make 1926 a banner year in the annals of I. U. 110. This is our need and it is our goal. You have the power to realize this accomplishment. Go to it, and win!

The Sinister Syndicate

By ALBERT WEHDE
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STURDAYS in summertime are busy half-days for Chicago. The stores, closing at one o'clock, cause the day's business to be transacted within the short hours of the forenoon; congestion on streets and conveyances is the inevitable result. On such a day I happened to be riding on an East-bound Madison Street electric, my route calling for a transfer to a South-bound Dearborn Street car. I occupied a seat well in the center of the car which was crowded as we crossed the river. Passengers leaving at every corner in the loop the crowd soon thinned and presently disclosed the figure of a man standing near the front exit, to the motorman's right. He seemed familiar to me, looked just like Ernie Trachtenberg, a former fellow worker, whom I had not seen for several years. Being now near my transfer corner I arose and walked forward, intending to greet my old friend with a hearty slap on the back. As I approached him and obtained a full view of his face, however, I discovered that I had erred. He was a stranger to me with a resemblance to Ernie so bafflingly close that one might easily be taken for the other. Dropping my uplifted arm I refrained from my intended friendly demonstration.

He seemed to be unacquainted with the city and its ways. Blocking the exit, he permitted himself to be pushed to the right and left, though stolidly maintaining his position and moving only a few inches in apparent rustic bewilderment. When the car came to a stop and I was ready to leave I had to admonish him loudly to stand aside and let me

pass. A boyish looking person of prosperous appearance stood behind me, slightly to the left. Bending his body forward he looked into my eyes, his facial expression bespeaking huge amusement at the stupidity of the party in front who now moved out of the way while I stepped into the street.

I have long had the habit of carrying my money in the left rear pocket of my trousers. Another habit, less bad though of no practical use, is to feel of this pocket frequently, especially when in a crowd or when a rising from a seat. I had done so at this time and had satisfied myself that my billfold was in its place, but when feeling again as I boarded the Dearborn Street car I was disagreeably surprised to find the pocket empty, —its contents were gone.

It was a clear case of pocket-picking and there could be no doubt of the perpetrators; my friend's double and the smiling youth composed a team of light-fingered gentrification. I jumped off the moving car and running back tried vainly to reach the Madison Street

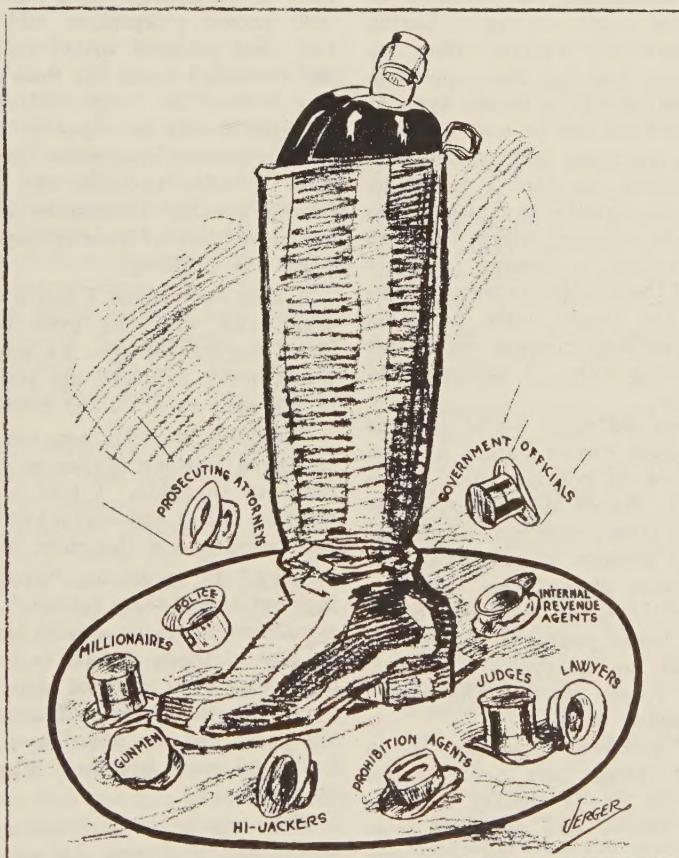
electric. Not being able to catch up with it I confined present efforts to scanning the faces of passers-by, hoping to find the two scoundrels. Equally unsuccessful, I told my troubles to the traffic cop.

"They got into you, hey?" he grinned.

"That's what they did—fifty dollars in bills—I could identify them anywhere!"

"Identify what—the bills?" His grin broadened.

I was in no humor for jesting and my answer was brief and terse. Then, accepting his advice, I hurried to the First District Police Station to report the theft.



The place was littered with plain-clothes men whose scrutinizing glances appeared calculated to disconcert timid souls. They were an ill-groomed lot, shifty of eye and coarse of speech. My first impression was that they were prisoners, but meeting interrogative looks and seeing no uniformed officials, I approached one of them and inquired for the desk sergeant. I was told that he had just stepped out but would return in a minute.

"What do you want of him?" I was asked and I told my story. A half-dozen of the men gathered around me and listened. There was silence on their part, the silence of contempt, cutting me to the quick. I felt like a boob.

Whatever may said of our detective force, its members are not afflicted with an inferiority complex. Their haughty demeanor, their glances of pitying contempt, almost made me regret having called and I would have left without filing my complaint if the sergeant had not then appeared. He was in uniform and plainly a higher type of man. Lending a sympathetic ear he took notes of every essential, booked my name, address and telephone number and advised me that I would be called to view and try to identify any pickpockets or suspects who might be arrested within the next few days. He cautioned me to respond promptly to every call as most of these pilferers were arrested on suspicion and the judges were unwilling to hold them without definite charges no matter what their previous records were. I promised and went about my business.

I was called to three different police stations within the next week, and viewed dozens of men as they were marched past me in single file. There were slim-built youths of dapper appearance, sheikish looking jazz-hounds; bleary-eyed men of middle age, paunch-bellied and slattern whom it was difficult to distinguish from plain-clothes officials; elderly individuals were there, too, with that hang-dog look acquired in many years of prison-life. All of them looked at me in cynical defiance, meeting my eyes with brazen stares. The men I looked for were not among them.

The brotherhood of pickpockets seemed to be holding a convention in Chicago just then. Charles G. Dawes, running for the vice-presidency, addressed a large audience of friends and neighbors from his home porch. After the meeting the lawn was found strewn with empty wallets; a federal secret service man also fell an easy victim, losing not only his money, but his star and other credentials as well. The press entertained its readers with daily reports, humorously penned, but failed to record arrests and convictions of the malcontents though many suspects had been picked up by the police.

"We can never convict these birds," a sergeant told me. "As soon as we make an arrest the gang sends a lawyer who is kept on its regular payroll and the machinery for beating the law is set in motion. No matter how strong a case we have,

the prisoner gets out on bail and one of his friends calls on the victim. Whatever money was taken is refunded with an addition to recompense for loss of time and inconvenience, threats are used if need be, so that when the case is called for trial there is no witness and the defendant is dismissed. I'll tell the world, those fellows have the thing down pat; pocket-picking is the safest game there is."

I assured him that I would neither be bribed nor intimidated but meant to prosecute at all hazards if the right men were ever apprehended.

During a call at the South Clark Street police station I had a long talk with an officer in plain clothes who appeared especially eager to help me find the men I was looking for. In courtroom and corridor were some twenty men whom this officer pointed out to me, telling me that all of them were well known pickpockets and that most of them had been arrested within the last few days. All had furnished bonds for their appearance and were now to face the judge. None of them resembled the men I was so eager to find and my present mentor seemed even more disappointed than I was when I failed to make any identification. The court's opening terminated our conversation and having matters of greater importance to look after I left the building.

A slim man whom I had noticed among the loiterers, and who had eyed me in a manner to make me wonder who he might be and what he might want, followed me into the street and fell in my step as I walked toward the loop.

"Couldn't identify 'em, hey?" he addressed me, casting a sidelong glance as though he wanted to read my thoughts. I told him that I could pick my men out of any crowd but that so far the police had failed to get the right individuals.

"Say," he spoke up, "why the devil don't you pick out any of these fellows? They are all professionals with records a yard long. Blame your loss on any of them—they'll call on you and make it right with you; none of them can afford to come up before the judge and have you testify against them. If you are smart you can get your money back and more besides. Why in hell should you be the loser?"

Here was an angle I had never considered. He was pointing a way to get ample revenge and "easy money" at the same time. It seemed so simple, too. A member of the pickpockets' syndicate extracts one's wad and as the real culprit can not be found any brother member is accused. Having a bad record, he cannot afford to stand trial. He prefers to make good the loss, adding whatever else can be extracted from him by this blackmail. Simple and sure, the "honest" man is reimbursed and nobody is cheated except justice —poor, blind hussy!

But I was not tempted. Instead I felt sudden disgust with my present companion. My fingers itched; I longed to strangle the fellow. Never-

the less I controlled my feelings in an urge to fathom the depth of his infamy.

"The police have my name and address," I said. They will summon me to appear in court and if I fail to respond I will be subject to prosecution for contempt or may even be charged with compounding a felony." I was curious to hear his rejoinder.

His talk was odd. Part of the time he used the words and enunciation of an educated man, and then he would change to the language and tone of a roughneck.

"That's easy," he insisted, "if your name and address are changed on the blotter all hell won't find you. If you don't get a summons how can you be expected to appear in court? Don't let that worry you, I can fix that!"

"How can you fix it?" I asked.

"Say, listen to me, when I say I can fix it, I can fix it, and you bet I will fix it. I have been in this game for ten years and I know what I am doing. These dips think themselves clever, but I beat their racket every time. They know it, too, but they can't help themselves. They are on to me and if I should go around myself giving testimony against them I would not get very far. I can't raise a holler and claim that some gink lifted my poke; I sprung that on them too often. You have never been in a police court before and the judge will take your word for anything you say. Now don't be a damn fool. Do as I tell you and get some dough out of these birds. You can use it, can't you?"

Yes, I could use it. Fifty dollars was not to be sneezed at. I pondered and mused in silence. Watching me closely he went on talking:

"All of these half-witted crooks have prison records and if anybody takes the stand against them and swears that he was robbed and positively identifies any of the fellows, the judge soaks them the limit—ten or twenty years in Joliet. Do you think for a moment they will let it come to a trial? You bet they won't! They will see you and square themselves with you. If you claim they took a thousand dollars from you, you can get a thousand iron men out of them, providing, of course, that you pick out a fellow who has got something and whose standing is good with the gang. If you pick out somebody who is a nobody in the profession you won't get it. That's all there is to it. It all depends on your picking out the right guy. You can get a wad of easy money; you'd better go to it!"

My companion was evidently under the impression that his argument was finding favor with me and as I remained silent he continued:

"I know every one of them and I can put you wise; some of them own lots of property and can pay a stiff sum. I'll pick out the fellow for you to identify if you will make it fifty-fifty with me. You are running no kind of a risk. What d'you say?"

"How about my name on the police blotter?" I asked.

"Oh, forget it! I've got a fellow in the right place. I'll tip him off and he makes a little change in the name and address. That's the easiest part."

The revelation was complete. A syndicate of thieves, with an attorney on its payroll, working hand in hand with a paid servant of justice! And all of them at the mercy of a miserable black-mailer. I almost pitied the poor pickpocket.

I had heard enough. As we reached Madison Street I turned abruptly, leaving the scoundrel to form his own opinion of my reluctance to take advantage of his generous offer.

I received no further summons to identify suspects.

BUSINESS MANAGER'S STATEMENT

In America today there are only a few revolutionary magazines, with combined circulations approximating 50,000 copies. This insignificant showing is totally insufficient to agitate and educate the workers. The combined circulations of capitalist magazines in this country easily run to 15,000,000.

Over 70 per cent. of the population is composed of workers, but they do not read the literature of their class, and are slaves because of their ignorance. This vicious condition enslaves all of us, and while we admit that the task of educating them is necessarily slow, we contend that The Industrial Pioneer should have a circulation right now of not less than 50,000.

Now these slaves have to be organized, and we are the ones who must do it—it is the job of the whole I. W. W. membership. No one else is going to do it for us. It is unanimously agreed that there can be no organization without education preceding it, preparing the ground, so to speak. It is also agreed quite as generally that the press is the most effective educational medium. And it should be clear to all that our Industrial Unions are not more powerful because our press is weak.

What are you going to do about it? The chance is ours to get the unorganized and misorganized to read the publications. Are you going to let the great chance pass by, and through such failure descend ever lower in the existence scale where the bosses want you? You owe a duty to yourselves and to your class which you can discharge only by making your I. W. W. press grow. Let's unite as never before and double the circulation!

JAMES SULLIVAN.

WHAT EVERY SCHOOLBOY KNOWS

And What He Doesn't Know about the Working Class Revolution in the Philippines

By DANIEL TOWER

 EORGE BUCHANAN FIFE, writing in the New York Evening World about Mark Sullivan's new book, "Our Times," utters an observation concerning recorded annals of this republic which tempts analysis. Mr. Fife says:

"The victory of Admiral George Dewey over the Spanish fleet at Manila on May 1, 1898, is held by historians to have opened a new vista of American history. . . . Midnight of April 30 . . . found Dewey off Manila harbor, twenty-six miles from the city. He steamed in with lights shielded and encountered only three shots, fired from the sentinel island of El Fraile. At dawn he struck, closing in on the Spanish fleet, and **every schoolboy knows** what followed his famous order, 'You may fire when ready, Gridley'."

Bold-face in the above are ours. Yes, every boy who has been to school since May Day twenty-eight years ago knows what happened in Manila Bay that day and afterward in the Philippines; the one defect in his knowledge of the subject is that what he knows about it is almost invariably not true. He has the deeply imbedded impression that Dewey scored a glorious victory; that the Spaniards were licked by virtue of the superior strength and intelligence of American arms. We who went to school in the days of "Remember the Maine" and "Cuba Libre" and "Dewey for President" were told the glorious-victory stuff by our teachers; and we read it in the newspapers.

Hand-Picked Facts For the Youthful Mind

School histories generally treat the American invasion of the Philippines in that robust fashion; if any chronicler of events for the young mind in any of our states ever handled the Dewey fanfare otherwise, it may be assumed that the American Legion and National Security League has by this time rooted his book out of the curriculum.

In William H. Mace's "School History of the United States," published by Rand McNally and Company, we find a typical example of the Manila Bay story as ladled out to adolescents:

". . . Commodore George Dewey, commanding an American fleet in Chinese

waters, was ordered to attack the Spanish fleet in the Philippines. Before daylight, May 1, 1898, Dewey sailed into Manila Bay. . . . In four hours he had completely destroyed the enemy's fleet of eleven vessels, silenced the shore batteries of Cavite, and had killed and wounded hundreds of Spaniards without the loss of a single American.

"Dewey blockaded the city of Manila and awaited the arrival of land troops before taking possession. This victory produced enthusiasm in America and excitement in Europe. It was America's first step into new relations with the whole world."

Romance and Dewey In a White Suit

This simple recital is accompanied by a reproduction of a painting depicting the battle in romantic colors. Nothing is said about anything that had happened in the Philippines before Dewey arrived there.

True, on another page, after telling of events in Cuba and Porto Rico, Professor Mace does say this:

"As soon as General Merritt could collect an army on the Pacific Coast and transport it to the support of Admiral Dewey, Manila was forced to surrender (August 13th). In the Philippines, as in Cuba, the natives had revolted against the tyranny of Spain and *aided* the Americans in defeating the Spaniards."

Again, the italics are ours. From this paragraph by Professor Mace one would

naturally gather that the United States had taken the lead in driving Spain out of Luzon and all adjacent islands, and that the natives had joined in to help this noble purpose. Certainly no other inference can logically be drawn from the word *aided* in the Mace text.

But what are the facts? It is not true that the Filipinos *aided* the Americans in defeating the Spaniards. The truth is that the Filipinos had been in active revolt against their oppressors for a year and a half—and the Americans came along and horned in on their fight, set up an alliance with them, and presently took their whole archipelago.

Rizal's Death Is Signal For Rising

It had been a revolt of a patient, long-suffering working class against exploitation by the capitalists of Spain, against the friars, against the military, against a rule of iron. Peaceful ways had been tried, and the Filipinos had come to the end of peace. José Rizal had counseled peace. He was the great man among them—doctor, artist, philosopher, linguist, author. He had counseled peace, but he had written too much truth about social conditions in the Philippines—in his novel *Noli me Tangere* (Touch Me not) and in other works. For this unveiling of reality Rizal was arrested for sedition, tried without counsel, and executed by a firing squad on Bagumbayan Field near Manila. A gala day for the Spanish grandees there—women waved handkerchiefs and men threw their hats into air as Rizal fell. Charles Edward Russell and E. B. Rodriguez tell the story masterfully in their book "The Hero of the Filipinos."

That was in December, 1896. A great day for Spain—but also the beginning of the end of Spanish rule in the Philippines. Rizal's death was the signal for the brown brothers to rise. They could endure no more. . . . Let Russell and Rodriguez tell of that rising:

"Viva Espana!" How poor are they that will not ponder history! From the hanging of John Brown to the Emancipation Proclamation was three years and twenty-nine days. From the murder of José Rizal to the surrender of Manila was one year, eight months, and seventeen days.

Holy Wrath Turns Against Oppressors

"On the day the murderous court martial pronounced Rizal's death the Filipinos began to slip from the city and join the forces of Bonifacio. . . . Silently they went and by thousands. The insurgent lines swept up as close as Cavite, so strong had the uprising grown. There, in the face of all the vigilance, all the spying, . . . they stood in the trenches with arms in their hands. Guns came from the thickets, the roofs, the *carabao* stalls. Soldiers that enlisted without rifles fought with *bolos* until in the first encounter they could wrest guns from the Spaniards. Inadequately

armed, badly fed, ragged and untrained, they went into battle and overwhelmed the Spanish regulars, because they had been fired with a vision of freedom and holy wrath against the System that had struck down their champion."

Fresh troops came from Spain, but they could not quell the revolt. Disaster struck the Spanish



DR. JOSÉ RIZAL, DISTINGUISHED MARTYR FOR FILIPINO INDEPENDENCE

army at every turn. . . . "On August 10, (1898,) Aguinaldo captured the Manila waterfront, and had the city at his mercy. On August 13 it surrendered, not to him that really had reduced it, but to the American naval and land forces; although of such land forces there was but a handful."

One will search far through school histories for mention of Rizal. Yet to write the story of the Philippines without telling of the part he played in the struggle there is like recording the history of Negro slavery without mentioning John Brown.

Torture and Death In Filthy Jails

Clear light is thrown upon the Philippine question in a new book, "The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States," written by Moorfield Storey and Marcial P. Lichauco. Storey is former president of the American Bar Association and Lichauco was the first Filipino graduate of Harvard College. The book was issued by Putnam.

Storey and Lichauco tell of atrocities visited upon persons suspected of being revolutionists—of men being hung up by their thumbs, of bones crushed,

of mutilations for life, of men dying of suffocation in filthy jails, of women dragged from homes by night. This under Governor Poltaveja. Finally, as a matter of policy, the Spanish government recalled Poltaveja and sent a more peaceful administrator, General Primo de Rivera. He wanted peace, and offered amnesty to all who would lay down their arms.

The Filipino leaders agreed to cease fighting if certain things were guaranteed to them, particularly these: expulsion of the friars, parliamentary representation, freedom of the press, religious toleration, administrative and economic autonomy, restoration of all friar lands to their original owners, no more banishments, legal equality for all classes.

Rivera agreed, but his promise was false. He denounced the friars, but did not recommend their removal. The natives waited a reasonable time, but he made no reforms. Insurrections broke out afresh in various parts of the archipelago. Forty-nine days before the United States declared war on Spain, the rebels were besieging the Spanish in the city of Cuba, 400 miles south of Manila, and U. S. Consul Oscar Williams advised Washington that Manila was under martial law, that Spaniards were killing rebel prisoners there without trial, and that a republic was being organized in the Philippines as in Cuba.

Promise of Independence Is Forgotten

More about the situation is given by Albert G. Robinson in his book, "The Philippines: The War and the People." Robinson served there as correspondent for the New York Evening Post in 1899-1900. He tells of another dispatch to Washington in March, 1898, in which Consul Williams said: "Insurrection is rampant; many killed, wounded and made prisoners on both sides. . . . Rebellion never more threatening to Spain." Despite assertions to the contrary, Robinson avers, the insurrection, of 1896, though interrupted and declared by Spain to be at an end, was still in progress when Dewey arrived.

On April 23 this nation declared war on Spain. Aguinaldo was then an exile, and was in Singapore. E. Spencer Pratt, U. S. Consul General there, arranged a secret meeting attended by Aguinaldo, three of his associates, the editor of the Singapore Free Press, and Howard Bray, an Englishman long resident in the Far East. At this meeting, according to six of the participants, a provisional agreement was drawn up under which it was specified that Philippine independence would be proclaimed, a federal republic would be established by vote of the rebels, and that an American protectorate would be recognized on the same terms as those fixed for Cuba. Afterward Pratt denied this; but he arranged for Aguinaldo's co-operation with the American forces, and Aguinaldo immediately returned to the Philippines and assumed command of the rebel troops.

Bray declared subsequently that Aguinaldo "had,

in view of what took place in Singapore and the telegrams received from Commodore Dewey (then in Hongkong) full justification for believing that the United States would raise no objection to the complete autonomy of the Philippines, and would, after the Spaniards were expelled from the islands, establish a protectorate over the whole group."

Cheers, Songs—and Dewey For President!

When Dewey sailed for Manila, the Spaniards were already practically licked by the natives; they had been unable to dislodge an insurgent army within ten miles of the capital. So all Dewey had to do was to sail into Manila harbor, fire a few shots against an inferior fleet, and win a victory without the loss of a single life. How Americans at home cheered themselves hoarse over that victory! Dewey was a hero. Hearst boomed him for President. The school children or the American people or the Hearst papers or somebody gave their pennies to buy a house for the Commodore, and he was made an Admiral. Songs were written about his courage, and everywhere there were colored pictures of him in a white suit.

Consul Wildman at Hongkong wrote a letter to Aguinaldo which is in the Storey-Lichauco book: "Do not forget that the United States undertook this war for the sole purpose of relieving the Cubans from the cruelties under which they were suffering and not for the love of conquests or the hope of gain. They are actuated by precisely the same feelings for the Filipinos." Testifying later before a Senate committee, Dewey said that Aguinaldo "did wonderfully well. He whipped the Spaniards battle after battle. . . . I knew what he was doing—driving the Spaniards in—was saving our troops." Again he said: "I was waiting for troops to arrive and I thought that the closer they (the Filipinos) invested the city, the easier it would be when our troops arrived to march in. The Filipinos were our friends, assisting us; they were doing our work. . . . They could have had any number of men; it was just a question of arming them. They could have had the whole population."

Thousands of prisoners were taken by Aguinaldo's troops, and were treated humanely, as Dewey's dispatches show. And having ample reason to believe, from the acts of the Americans, if not also from their statements, that this country would cooperate in the establishing of a native government, the Filipinos unfurled their flag at Cavite and proclaimed independence on June 12, 1898. Not until two months later did the American occupation forces enter Manila.

But the United States ignored the new government, made a treaty with Spain whereby for \$20,000,000 the Philippines were ceded to this republic, which thus obtained from Spain a vast territory to which Spain herself had no title.

This high-handed proceeding brought a revolt of the Filipinos against the Americans, and there followed a bitter war. Censorship was clamped

upon press dispatches, and a campaign of extermination was begun against the Filipinos. Major General Elwell S. Otis was in command of the army. The general rule among the American forces was: "Take no prisoners!" Storey and Lichauco give a sickening list of atrocities against natives.



FILIPINO TERRACED RICE-FIELD. THE WHITE PLACES ARE WATER. THIS NATIVE CULTURE ANTEDATES THAT INTRODUCED BY CHRISTIANS

Only a few Americans were court-martialed, and usually they were let off with reprimand.

One General Smith, accused of ruthlessness, was put through the form of a trial after Mark Twain and other notables demanded an investigation. It was shown that Smith instructed Major Waller to take no prisoners, to kill and burn; and that Waller's men were to kill everybody over ten years of age who was capable of bearing arms "as the Samar boys of that age were equally as dangerous as their elders." General Smith admitted giving the orders, Storey and Lichauco explain; moreover, he sought to justify them. He was found guilty and was sentenced "to be admonished."

Water Cure Becomes American Sport

When information was wanted from captured natives, they were given the water cure. The victim was pinned to the ground, and water was poured into his mouth—as much as five gallons! This stopped all speech, of course, so the captors would squeeze the water out of him, by jumping on him. This was done to hundreds of natives. One Captain Glenn, an army judge advocate, ordered the water-cure given to a man, was tried for it, and was fined \$50. Storey and Lichauco continue:

"All these charges and convictions, all these reliable accusations, as well as the official copies of the orders given by General Bell . . . and General Smith . . . directing that the war be conducted in the most rigorous manner possible were known to the Secretary of War." People in the States were beginning to hear of these atrocities.

Yet on February 17, 1902, the Secretary of War issued this statement: "The war in the Philippines has been conducted by the American army with scrupulous regard for the rules of civilized warfare, with careful and genuine consideration for the prisoner and the non-combatant, with self-restraint, and with humanity never surpassed."

How many natives were killed during the unofficial war between the United States and the Philippines? Storey and Lichauco quote General J. M. Bell as estimating that in Luzon alone *one-sixth of the native population was wiped out*. Luzon then had more than 3,500,000 population; *one-sixth of that number meant 600,000 men, women and children*. General Bell said naively: "I think that not one man has been slain except where his death served the legitimate purpose of war. *It has been thought necessary to adopt what in other countries would probably be thought harsh measures.*"

While all this was going on, and while the American forces were losing heavily from bullets, *bolos* and disease, a heavy-handed censorship kept the newspaper correspondents from putting the facts onto the cable. Military headquarters, where Major General Otis ruled, gave out countless falsely optimistic bulletins saying that "the situation was well in hand" and predicting early dissolution of the Filipino forces and a speedy ending of the war. Otis and his aides did not question the truth of dispatches which the correspondents wanted to put on the cable, but contended that it would have a bad effect on the morale of people at home.

"Every Fight a Glorious American Victory"

Matter cabled from the Philippines, says Robinson in his book, "must support the local and Washington administration, right or wrong in all their acts. It must suppress anything and everything which was in any way discreditable to the American army. It must avoid all that would tend to create an impression at home that the army was anything other than fat, healthy, happy and contended." In the same book R. M. Collins, Associated Press news chief, is quoted as saying: "In this way the entire American press was made the personal organ of Otis . . . every fight became a glorious American victory, even though every one in the army knew it to have been substantially a failure."

Apparently nobody in governmental circles in Washington knows any more now about what has happened in the Philippines since 1896 than any schoolboy knows. President Coolidge has lately appointed an Ohio politician to go over and find out what the Filipinos are all the time kicking about. If the Ohio man should find out what is the trouble over there, what will Mr. Coolidge and his friends do about it? Any schoolboy knows.



Enslaving the Children

By L. F. POST



THE GLORIES OF SUNNY SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

WE were at our evening meal, my wife, her sister who was visiting us and myself, and I was speaking about evils of child labor. My sister-in-law, a self-satisfied trained nurse, snorted: "Oh, you radicals make me tired! I've never seen this 'child labor' you're always talking about."

Her inflection of the words "child labor" verged on a sneer. I asked her if she wished me to prove the truth of my assertions by showing her right there in that town a particularly pernicious form of this curse.

"Of course, if you can," she challenged.

"Are you ready to take a short walk?" I asked.

"Why, it's getting dark!" she exclaimed, and mocked, "Won't you wait till tomorrow to show me your horrible examples? They don't 'enslave' the children at night, do they?"

"Of course they do. Right now it is going on half a mile from this house," I countered.

Had we been alone she would not have consented, but her sister's steady gaze was fixed on her and she was uneasy.

"Yes, go with him," urged my wife, who enjoyed in anticipation the defeat of her smug, patriotic sister. "You may learn something."

In a few minutes we were on the street and before very long we reached the glass factory where I let her see for herself the little boys, six, seven, eight, nine and ten years old, opening and closing molds for the blowers, cracking off, carrying glass articles to the annealing lehrs, and doing many other tasks. They worked 8½ hours. Day and night shifts alternated each week. The factory was under the jurisdiction of the American Flint Glass Workers Union, an A. F. of L. body, and about this same period—the spring of 1917—when

these boys struck, the skilled mechanics of that organization secured scabs to defeat the little fellows.

But, needless to say, my sister-in-law was convinced that all was not as she had thought it to be in this best of all favored lands of a free people under the starry canopy of God's glorious skies, etc., etc., etc. Her natural compassion came into play, and that ended the incident.

* * *

Early Textile Child Slavery

Since that time in Pennsylvania I have watched the development of child labor in many industries, and the attempts at reform, and their effect. So, in this article, which I have asked the editor to run in two issues, I want to consider the matter from the different angles of individual harm to the child, the child's family, and the working class. In this work I have been generously assisted by the National Child Labor Committee, and by the United States Department of Labor, from which latter source most of my figures and a great deal of my material has been drawn. Some historical facts are valuable at this point to get a proper background for the discussion. Accordingly we shall proceed to outline them.

When the English feudal system was disintegrating in the reign of Edward III laws were passed compelling children to work, and the Poor Laws of Elizabeth's reign provided for child labor as "a

prophylactic against vagrancy and pauperism." The new wage system was offering fresh opportunities for exploiting workers, and children are cheaper to buy than adults. Hence the laws. Puritans and Quakers, out of religious motives which hated indolence, made their children work, and in Bradford's History we find him saying of the former that:

"As necessitie was a stern taskmaster over them, so they were forced to be such, not only to their servants but in a sorte to their dearest chilidren; the which as it did not a little wound ye tender hearts of many a loving father and mother, so it produced likewise sundrie sad and sorrowful effects. For many of their children.... having learned to bear parte of their parents burden, were, oftentimes, so oppressed with their hevie labours that though their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under ye weight of ye same and became decreped in their early youth."

(Page 23.)

Laws to put children to work were early enacted in the American colonies. The "Great and General Court of Massachusetts required the Magistrates of the several towns to see 'what course may be taken for teaching the boys and girles in all towns the spinning of yarne'." (Massachusetts Bay Records 294).

The connection between this statutory anxiety and the rising textile industry of the 17th Century is patent. But Alexander Hamilton, one of the greatest American Fathers, and the patron saint of the United States Supreme Court, said that the increase of manufacture was a good thing for many reasons, among them being that cripples and others unsuited to the rigors of agriculture could be employed in the factories. He said, too, that children could be made "more early useful" by putting them in the factories.

About this time in England (the last of the 18th and beginning of the 19th Centuries) almshouses and orphanages were being emptied of children in response to the capitalist demand for a larger and cheaper labor supply, an in most cotton mills women and children were employed at an 18 to 1 proportion over adult males. That was a long time ago, but it is the same desire for profits possible from workers, who by sex or immaturity are more helpless and tractable than men, which keeps child labor flourishing, a blot on humanity and a shame to the apathetic working class which permits it to exist. Child labor under capitalism is not peculiar to any decade or locality. It was more intense in the earlier stages because employers had not yet learned that the dead goose lays no golden eggs. Reform labor laws of the 19th Century in England came as a result of two forces, one external, the other internal. The first was trade unionism, the second was a mental awakening of employers. These latter permitted the legislation, not because the industrial conditions were harmful to the children and workers as a whole, but because they saw—after destroying countless thousands of the proletariat in the factories—that they were wiping out the slave supply faster than it could be reproduced. Thus the statutory magnanimity.

In the English mills pauper children from toddling ages up were driven from dawn till dark, pausing only for a few minutes in which to gulp the maggoty swill their masters provided. These children slept beside the machines so that no time was lost going to and from them. In this Year of Our Lord 1926 the foreign capitalists operating in China are doing very nearly the same thing, and almost incredibly rapacious greed is decimating thousands of Chinese boys and girls who have the misfortune to fall into the tender mercies of our good Christian capitalists, or for that matter, good Japanese bosses who learned the tricks of bourgeois exploitation from these Christians.

About the 20th Amendment

Following is an excerpt from the report of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor (U. S.) for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1925, summarizing the existing status of the proposed child labor amendment to the Constitution:

The proposal was submitted to the States by Congress on June 4, 1924, and was brought before 43 legislatures with the following results:

Ratified by both houses in four states (Arkansas, Arizona, California and Wisconsin).

Approved by house, but rejected by senate in Montana.

Rejected by both houses in 21 states (Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington and West Virginia.)

Rejected by one house in 9 States (in addition to Montana), (Idaho, Louisiana, Michigan, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, and Oregon.)

Action postponed in two states (Iowa and Wyoming.)

The proposed amendment is this:

"Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age."

"Section 2. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of State laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress."

Points That Were Debated

It is interesting to know that the National Association of Manufacturers fought the amendment and that these and all capitalist opponents made much of the fact that children up to 18 years would be encouraged in habits of idleness, and that no child under that age could legally do any useful work. In a debate between Owen R. Lovejoy, then General Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, and ex-Senator Charles S. Thomas of Colorado, "Resolved, that the proposed 20th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States should be ratified," Mr. Lovejoy for the affirmative said:

But we are asked if it is not our desire that the government should prohibit all child labor under eighteen years of age, why give the government power to do so? This can best be answered by sketching the kind of child labor law I believe my distinguished opponent and his associates would gladly accept as reasonable: (a) A law to prohibit the employment of children under fourteen years of age in all manufacturing, commercial, and mechanical pursuits, in tenement home work, in canneries, and in those types of agriculture which are carried on to the obvious injury of the children compelled to work in them. (b) To limit the hours of labor for children under sixteen in those occupations to an eight-hour day, six-day week, and no night work. (c) To regulate the employment of children under



THIS BOY SLAVES LIKE THIS—

eighteen so as to exclude from occupations dangerous to life, limb, or health.

This is our position. We have waited through all these months of heated controversy for our opponents to tell us where they stand. What kind of a child labor law will they stand for? How much protection do they want American children to have? I trust Senator Thomas will favor us by explaining at what point, if any, he would consider such regulation of child labor extreme or drastic. But he may say, "So far as our state is concerned it does protect them." Yes, but not all states do. If such protection is good for the children of your state, is it not good for the children of all states? How far have we gone in the latter respect? Seven states permit children to go to work at fourteen without evidence of ability to read; 18 states do not make physical fitness for work a condition of employment; 12 states allow children of fourteen to work eight to eleven hours a day, and one has no limit whatever to the day's work; 25 states allow children of fourteen to run elevators; 19 states have no laws prohibiting children of fourteen from working on dangerous machinery; 36 states allow children of sixteen to oil, wipe or clean machinery in motion; 87 states allow children at 14 to work on scaffolding; 80 states have no laws prohibiting children of fourteen from working around explosives.

Furthermore, if power were given to protect children only up to sixteen, there is no question that the states which protect their children up to eighteen would be urged to trim their laws down to sixteen. And those who are fighting this amendment would be the first to urge such a step on the ground that federal government did not approve of

protection beyond sixteen. But ought this power to be limited in scope so the government could not interfere with farm labor?

Mr. Thomas in rebuttal mentioned that the proposed law was bureaucratic and socialistic. At any rate, it has been defeated, and we should not regret the action except in that it deprives us of being able to indicate once more employers flagrantly violating another of the statutes which they defy at will. In the Labor Department report quoted above is this further statement concerning the matter of legislation as affecting children:

What the Labor Department Says

It is not to be expected that the efforts to secure the ratification of the amendment will be abandoned as long as large groups of children suffer from premature employment or too long hours because of the failure of the state legislature or state administrative officers to prevent such exploitation, or as long as evidence of the interstate character of the problem increases. The summary of child-welfare legislation shows little improvement through state legislation during the last year, and reports of investigations made by the state departments of labor in New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey give evidence of the interstate movement of child labor and work for children.

If you examine that statement critically you will see that it speaks of the "failure of state administrative officers to prevent such exploitation." And on that failure we base our contention that federal legislative action is not going to work either. In Pennsylvania where I saw the little glassworkers toiling through the night half-asleep, emaciated, before the great heat of the furnaces in surroundings uniformly unhealthful and vile, child labor laws then existed making such employment illegal, and they still exist there, but in Pennsylvania, New York, Georgia, California or anywhere else legislation intended beneficially for workers is not en-



—TO KEEP THESE PARASITES LIKE THIS

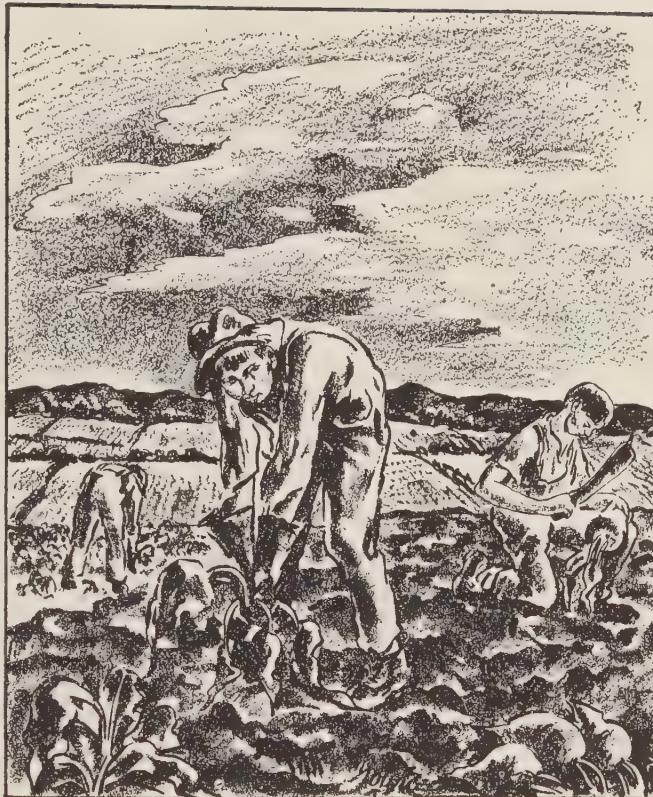
forceable except where the workers compel observance by the power of organized economic action. Economic necessity and capitalist greed form the upper and nether stones of the occupational mill that grinds the joy, youth, health and spirit of little bodies into holy profits.

The history of every state with child labor laws is a history of such general disregard that these laws are not worth the paper on which they are written unless as monuments to the earnestness of men and women who abhor the curse of child labor and believe (however wrongly is not the point here) that it can be remedied or abolished by parliamentary procedure. The enslavement of children continues because their labor is more profitable to employers than would be that of adult workers in like occupations.

I shall conclude this month's remarks with a consideration of the economics involved. Next month we can continue the investigation with facts of child labor as it exists in the United States. These facts will be supported in every instance by government reports.

Conclusion

Wages for workers are not the result of individual humor, caprice or sentiment, but are determined by the workers' living cost plus that required to replenish the slave stock, thereby guaranteeing to employers an uninterrupted flow of labor power. Now wages so determined do not insure to slave class children anything more than just sufficient for their sustenance until such time as they can be exploited in industry. Except among advantageously situated workers (i.e., skilled mechanics, technicians, etc.) wages paid to workers are below the level of a decent standard of living as computed by United States government officers. Hence, the large majority of proletarian fathers can not maintain their broods without the assistance of other members of the family, and this frequently includes not only



CHILDREN IN BEET FIELDS HELP THE SUGAR TRUST

their wives but children. Years ago Robert Hunter called attention to the fact that the hardest years of proletarian family life are when the children are small. And it is when they are small that necessity forces them into gainful employment—in a larger sense not gainful but a staggering loss.

My other point is that the exchange of commodities in capitalist economy brings an international aspect to bear on the subject. Even should higher wages be gained in this or any other country, and this is, of course, what workers must tirelessly struggle for or be thrust down from whatever existence levels they have

gained the living standard can not be maintained so long as the present economic system holds sway. All those who would improve the conditions of the working class—class, remember, not any group in this class—by passing labor laws, should take into account that surplus value extractions will bring recurrent crises to shake our industrial life, and that this surplus value piling up in China, India, Europe and elsewhere demands marketing. The American cotton mill slaves, for instance, can not maintain their present living standards when competition from other lands wins the market against American capitalists in cotton. Organization can combat it, but it must be revolutionary industrial union organization or it is powerless in the long run. The only alternative for unemployment, which is the visible and menacing cancer eating toward the heart of the capitalist system, and for all evils inhering in the wage relation, is the destruction of ruling class power, by which act surplus value extracting, or profit-taking, is abolished. This necessitates revolutionary procedure and in the I. W. W. philosophy a revolutionary activity consummated by the superior force of industrial unionism of the working class frequently and best expressed as Economic Direct Action.

Historic Fables - *The Fable of Heroes and Sheep*

By COVINGTON AMI

ONCE upon a time heroes were heroes and sheep were sheep. In those far off halycon days there was no civilization, no democracy and no Christianity. No shepherds and no collies were there. Law and order were utterly unknown. Savagery was rampant everywhere. Men and mutton roamed the earth as they would, when they would, and where, whither and whence they would. Gods, kings, captains, Caesars, presidents, premiers, plutocrats and pontiffs were conspicuous only by their absence. All was well with the world. But that was a long, long time ago, ages and ages and ages ago, my son. "The Golden Age" it was called. But it did not last long. Something spoiled it, I do not know just what. Some call it evolution and some call it God, but, whatever it was, both heroes and sheep survived. The heroes probably because the politicians took care of them, the sheep because the shepherds watched over their welfare. But, as I have said elsewhere, the halcyon days did not last long after the politicians and collies arrived. Law and order became necessary if society was to be saved for civilization. First the chief, then the conqueror, then the Caesar, then the pontiff, then the presidents and premiers were It. Now it looks as if the grand chiefs and commissars would have their inning at us averages next. Well, however that may be, after many revolts on the part of the heroes and sheep, chaos was finally put down and the state became God of Gods and King of Kings. It is a wonderful institution, the state. It can do no wrong. It is beyond good and evil. To criticize it is to commit the heinous crime of Criminal Syndicalism. To revolt against it is, not only treason in the nth degree, but even more blasphemous than that against the holy spirit of truth; for manifestly, when truth collides with politicians she should get the worst of it, should she not? She should and does. All of which is preeminently right and just. For is not the voice of the people the voice of God and the voice of the politicians the voice of the people? Ita est. You may answer this ineluctable logic after the scornful manner of the young, saying, to wit: "Well, all I gotta say is God's got a bum voice these days." But in that you would be far worse than wrong, my son. Consider what would happen, not to heroes, say,

but to sheep if the sheep did not have any shepherds and collies to guard them from the wolves, care for them, pen them, fleece them and eat them? You may object that it doesn't make any difference to the sheep whether the wolves or the shepherds fleece and eat them. Wrong again, son. It makes all the difference in the world. Don't the shepherds provide fine fenced-in pastures for the sheep to live in, work in, and sleep in? Don't they, therefore, pay them a fair day's wage for a fair day's work? They do. If, then, the shepherds do take all the fleece of the sheep and part of the mutton, what of it? Are not the shepherds entitled to the wages of abstinence? Certainly they are. Just look at how much better off the sheep are under the care of the shepherds than when they were at the mercy of the wolves. Besides there are other considerations of a still more altruistic nature. Just think how the sheep would suffer all through summer time if the kindly shepherds did not deflate them of the fleece. And what, I ask you, would become of the surplus supply of mutton if there were no shepherds to find a market for it? It would all be wasted on the buzzards, wouldn't it? "Bull!" I hear you say? Ah, no, my son, it is not "Bull"—it is Orthodox Economics, and you should not jeer at the supersciences so. But this is not all the good the shepherds do to the sheep. There are the great public services they are forced to maintain for the sheep. Not only do they provide an efficient, humane and intelligent police force of collies to protect them—the sheep, I mean, not the heroes—from the wolves, but they oversee their welfare in many other ways. For instance, just this one instance: Yesterday the sheep had to grub their living out of the ground as best they could, had to do everything for themselves. Today, how different it is! Now they have luscious pastures, a plentiful supply of pure, sweet water, nice warm sheds to loll around in, and many, many other comforts, even luxuries, things their fathers never dreamed of anybody but shepherds using. How wonderful it all is, and the shepherds provide it all at their own cost, it is all free to the sheep. True you may say the shepherds are doing all this only in order to be more certain of securing the fleece and mutton produced by the sheep, and with the least possible bleating and butting. Don't be so

cynical, my son. If at times the shepherds do send whole herds of sheep to the slaughter, what of it? Just think how frightful would be the pressure of sheep population on pasture if it were not for these periodical slaughters! Remember, sheep know nothing of birth control, and as all good shepherds know that it is highly immoral to impart such knowledge to them, hence the necessity for the slaughters. Besides, the slaughters serve a triple purpose. Economically they tend to keep sheep population within the bounds of pasturage. Spiritually they exalt the sheep and prevent patriotism and piety from perishing. Socially it makes the world safe for democracy by keeping sheep bucking sheep so strenuously that they have no time left to think about getting together and butting off the shepherds and collies. It is a very nice arrangement for—What's that? "What's all that got to do with heroes?" you want to know. Well, nothing much that is extraordinarily different that I can think of. Only it has always struck me to consider how strange was the fate and finish of both heroes and sheep. But as both of them seem to be satisfied only a damned agitator would think of upsetting their serenity. So I won't. I'll quit right here, before my loyalty to the Declaration lands me in Leavenworth. MORAL: Cheer up, heroes, the worst is yet to come!

WELFARE SONG

By WILL HERFORD

Sing a song of "Welfare,"
A pocket full of tricks
To soothe the weary worker
When he groans or kicks.
If he asks for shorter hours
Or for better pay,
Little stunts of "Welfare"
Turn his thoughts away.

Sing a song of "Welfare,"
Sound the horn and drum,
Anything to keep the mind
Fixed on Kingdom Come.
"Welfare" loots your pocket
While you dream and sing,
"Welfare" to your paycheck
Doesn't do a thing.

Sing a song of "Welfare,"
Forty 'leven kinds,
Elevate your morals,
Cultivate your minds.
Kindergartens, nurses,
Bath tubs, books and flowers,
Anything but better pay
Or shorter working hours.

—From *May Days*, an Anthology.

Industrial Rest Not Unrest

By A. A. Graham.

1. MARCH 16, 1926, Luke Parsons, plead guilty to grand larceny and burglary in the district court at

Topeka, Kansas, and was sentenced to 5 to 10 years in the penitentiary for having broken into the storeroom of the Union Pacific hotel here to get something to eat.

He told a long story of unemployment and suffering; and, when the judge was questioning him, the fact clearly appeared that he had purposely done this to be sent to the penitentiary, where he said he would rather be than outside, for there he could get something to eat, as he had had experience both inside and outside.

He was seeking a place of REST.

2. October 5, 1925, George Smith, nicknamed Hatchet-Face, plead guilty to highway robbery in the same court, and was sentenced to 21 years in the same penitentiary.

In his confession, Smith admitted he knew his series of holdups in rapid succession in a restricted district would soon land him in the penitentiary, but that was indeed his purpose also, as he, too, had had experience both inside and outside, and preferred the inside, where he was free from suffering on account of unemployment.

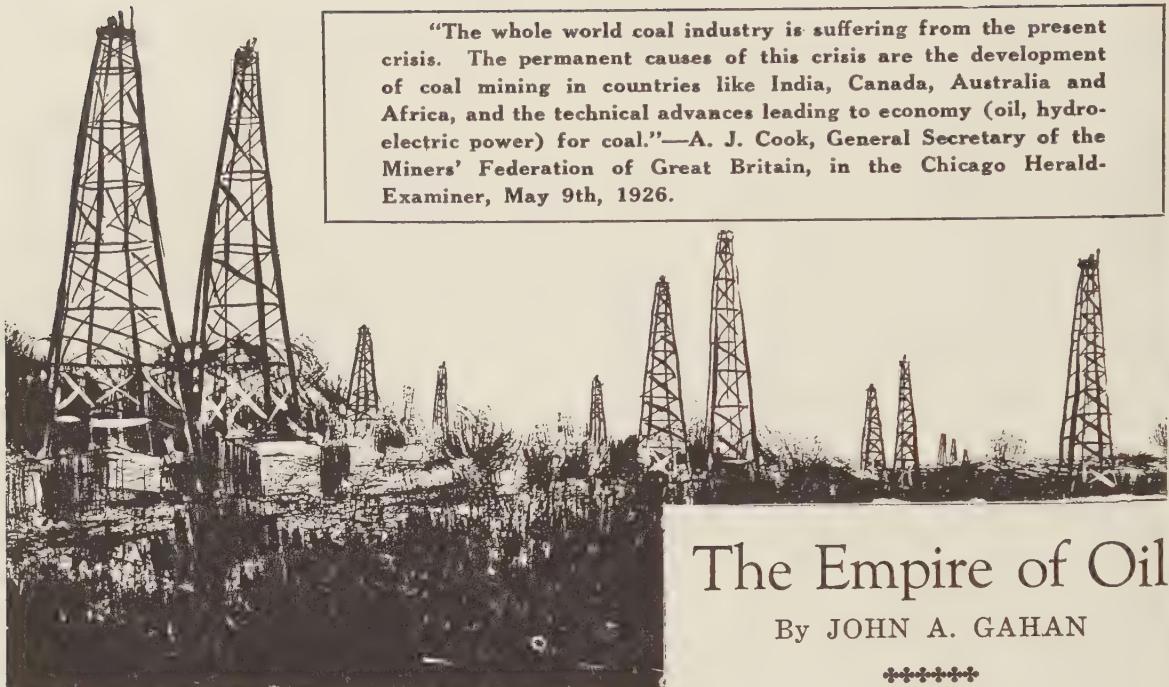
He, too, was seeking a place of REST.

I give the exact facts in both these cases, verifiable from the records, so I will not be charged with relating "parables" for the occasion.

These, as you see, are parallel cases, and are not isolated but representative of a general condition I have long known to be on an ever-increasing intensity. If this be crime, then what is government?

3. A 7-foot woven-wire fence has recently been built around a lake in Central Park, New York City, to prevent the unemployed and suffering and necessarily despondent from there drowning themselves.

There, in a water grave, they, too, have been seeking REST.



"The whole world coal industry is suffering from the present crisis. The permanent causes of this crisis are the development of coal mining in countries like India, Canada, Australia and Africa, and the technical advances leading to economy (oil, hydro-electric power) for coal."—A. J. Cook, General Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, in the Chicago Herald-Examiner, May 9th, 1926.

The Empire of Oil

By JOHN A. GAHAN

WE FIND that the British miners' leader is on the *qui vive* as competitors invade that energizing domain ruled until the last quarter-century by the absolutism of King Coal. Rightly he considers the rising power of these rivals, and in this series of articles which are to continue in the July and August numbers of The Industrial Pioneer will be manifested the enormous dimensions assumed by oil in the industrial arena, the adumbrations of which fall shroud-like over national destinies and threaten not only living standards of English coal diggers, but the fast-shrinking modicum of "liberty" now "enjoyed by the world's workers.

Oil is the latest and strongest despot in the affairs of men, superseding in importance the older tyranny of coal, iron and steel which dominated unchallenged for a century. Scott Nearing, in his "Oil and the Germs of War," says: "The oil industry is the infant prodigy of the industrial world. Barring the automobile industry, with which it is intimately connected, none has developed in a more spectacular manner. . . . There was no oil industry prior to 1860, when the world's total production was about half a

million barrels. . . . Oil has been one of the major industries only during the past 25 years."

The same authority ends his excellent pamphlet with figures from "The Mineral Industry" and the "Oil Trade Journal," which so eloquently reveal the growth of oil production until 1922 that I run them here for your earnest perusal.

THE PRODUCTION OF CRUDE PETROLEUM

(1860-1922) in the five countries reporting at least ten million barrels for 1922, together with figures for total world production. Figures in millions of barrels.

	U. S.	Mex.	Russia	Persia	Dutch E. Indies	World Product'n
1860	0.5	-----	-----	-----	-----	0.5
1870	5.3	-----	0.2	-----	-----	5.8
1880	26.3	-----	3.0	-----	-----	30.0
1890	45.8	-----	28.7	-----	-----	76.6
1900	63.6	-----	75.8	-----	2.3	149.1
1905	134.7	0.3	54.9	-----	7.8	215.3
1910	209.6	3.3	70.3	-----	11.0	327.6
1911	220.4	14.1	66.2	-----	12.1	345.7
1912	222.9	16.6	86.0	-----	10.8	352.5
1913	248.4	25.9	62.8	-----	11.9	384.6
1914	265.8	21.2	67.0	-----	12.7	399.3
1915	281.1	32.9	68.5	-----	12.4	426.4
1916	306.8	39.8	72.1	-----	13.2	459.4
1917	335.3	55.3	69.0	6.9	12.9	506.4
1918	355.9	63.8	40.5	7.2	13.3	515.5
1919	377.4	87.1	34.3	6.4	15.7	558.6
1920	443.4	163.5	25.0	12.4	17.5	694.8
1921	469.6	195.0	28.5	16.7	18.0	759.0
1922	551.2	185.1	35.1	21.2	1.0	851.5

So well known are the reasons for this vast increase that we need but briefly mention them. Before the advent of the combustion engine, oil was an inexpensive, dependable means of illumination and fuel in territories outside the realm of urban gas

and electric companies. And though the liquid still serves these purposes to a limited degree, its great development has been conditioned by its ability to serve propulsion needs. An interesting comparison from the *Japan Year Book* for 1924-25 is pertinent. The publication says:

"The consumption of petroleum in Japan by private users is estimated in the neighborhood of 2,600,000 koku (1 ton equals 6 koku) per annum. The total must reach some 5,000,000 koku if the consumption of the navy is taken into account."

Japan produces oil in Sakhalin, and imports from California, Java, Borneo and Mexico. I have chosen Japan in this connection because the Mikado's Empire is neither "Flivverized" nor "Packardized" to any general extent, and the significance of consumption for private uses contrasts strikingly against "consumption for the navy." As time passes, factories, automobiles, railroads, ships and air craft use an increasing volume of oil, and without it the chief types of airplanes and dirigibles find their wings clipped. Household usage of oil is dwarfed by trade and military utilization of the mineral.

The determinant of victory in manufacture, commerce and war prior to the 1914-18 conflagration was the coal, iron and steel trinity. England, France, America, Japan and Germany forged ahead by developing these industries at home or abroad. And when the Teuton Junkers envisioned defeat of their arms unless they could get oil (chiefly for the army's eyes—airplanes), the Kaiser issued a special order on April 28th, 1917, instructing von Falkenhayn to recapture Bagdad, Mesopotamia's capital, in order to secure the dark liquid treasure. But they failed and lost the war, German imperialism being drowned in a sea of Entente and American petroleum, notably the latter. In Lord Curzon's words "The Allies floated to victory on waves of oil." We shall return in due course to this phase of our subject, outlining the place of American interests in the oleous game of Europe and Asia.

In a more general manner we should remember that the international conferences in Europe, of which we have heard so much, have all been saturated with petroleum and statesmen's pens are

dipped in oil to write the government-supported mandates and treaties of petrolierous economic empire. It matters nothing that their carefully guarded language usually tabus the magic word. "Oil" is the talisman forcing them to meet; it is the charm that lures oil company agents to the scenes, where they direct, "unofficially," the whole current of deliberations.

From the San Remo Conference of April 1920 to the signing of the Locarno Pact oil has monopolized the stellar role on the stage of bourgeois imperialism, and when we reach that part of our study I purpose showing detailed reasons for governmental concern, and the motives of the tricky delegates of these powers who frequently combine the offices of state appointee and corporation representative. So intimate is the relation of owners and seekers of oil and the subservient states that in this commodity more than any other is being verified the statement of Marx that governments are the executive boards of ruling classes.

Within the last few months Mexico has been dramatically limned in the American press, and all sorts of arguments have been used for and against that country's "moral right" to order its own affairs. Because of what is to follow I am moved at this juncture to interpolate that we may well remember that trenchant axiom of capitalists, "There is no sentiment in business." Well may it be paraphrased for the more comprehensive purposes of business through politicians, "There is no sentiment in diplomacy."

Capitalist states are indeed hard to please. After protracted and noisy grief on the part of American politicians because of Mexico's "instability," it would seem that the liberal Calles ought to suit Wall Street and its Washington offices in the White House, as the Calles government opposes social revolution, is nationalistic, progressive and friendly to United States interests. These virtues should certainly satisfy our puritanical statesmen. But, no. In June, 1925, Secretary of State Kellogg gave a signed statement to the press defining why the administration was at enmity with the Mexican government. He said that insufficient



protection was given to the lives and properties of American citizens in Mexico; that American citizens were being deprived "unlawfully and illegally" of their property; that labor's "unreasonable demands" threatened Mexican stability. He also declared that a revolutionary movement was then forming. For these reasons the American government was compelled to demand better protection not only for American citizens but for all other foreigners as well, and that the Washington administration previously behind the Calles government must adopt a neutral attitude.

Calles' government saw that the United States was looking for trouble and the Mexican president disarmed Washington with these words:

"I declare that my government is determined to comply with the duties devolving upon it by international right and to guard the life and interests of foreigners. Based on loyal co-operation and on the unchanged customs of international friendship, my government hopes that other nations will help it to this end. But I will never allow that the government of another nation try to claim a special situation for its citizens in my country and I will not permit any foreign interference which is contrary to the sovereign rights of Mexico."

Now as regards revolutions forming in Mexico Mr. Kellogg ought to be well advised, since the United States has engineered so many there and among other weaker peoples. Let us prove this by very rapidly reviewing Mexico's more recent history. From Nearing and Freeman's "Dollar Diplomacy" we read that: "Diaz built the edifice of his power upon concessions which were granted to those who had the means to carry forward the development of Mexico's immense natural resources." Also: "Under the administration of Diaz Mexico enjoyed peace and a superficial prosperity but the chief beneficiaries of this prosperity were wealthy Mexican and foreign corporations. Mexico was rich but the Mexicans were poor."

Porfirio Diaz wanted to balance the power of the Doheny oil interests which had shot the first important oil well in Mexico on May 14th, 1901, at Ebano. So he handed concessions to Lord Cowdray of the British Pearson interests. In 1910 Francisco Madero, representing many business elements as against the great, feudalistic land-holding class and the church which backed Diaz, opposed the latter's eighth candidacy for the Mexican presidency. Madero was "counted out." The election was contested, and a revolution started. That revolution against Diaz, who supported British oil through the person of Cowdray, was fomented with the support of the American oil exploiters backed by the American State Department. Huerta's revolution which murdered Madero, was engineered by Downing Street, because Huerta stood for British oil. Subsequently Carranza and Villa were aided by this country because Edward L. Doheny (of later fame in the Tea Pot Dome steal) and his colleagues ordered it. Only in the light of oil can be explained this "diplomacy" and that which intervened at Tampico; and sent Pershing across the Rio Grande chasing Villa when the latter failed to keep serving American oil monopolists.

With this sketch we shall better grasp the mean-

ing of Kellogg's position, and understand more fully what follows concerning the present estrangement precipitated by Washington. The latest and most daring gesture of hostility to the Mexican government appeared in the April 17th, 1926 issue of (sic) "Liberty," a magazine printed in Chicago with non-union labor at the W. F. Hall Printing Company. This journalistic jingo enumerates Mexico's most appetizing commercial morsels. It gives the geographical extent, 760,093 square miles. Then it says that there is a "14,250,000 population, including about 40,000 Spanish and 18,000 Americans." That: "It produces almost one-quarter of the world's oil, one-third of the silver, five per cent of the gold, and has practically inexhaustible coal." Then very pointedly, "Its mineral wealth is virtually untouched." The editorial inventory of assets in "our sister republic" includes a \$500,000,000 mine investment by American capitalists, and \$1,000,000,000 in oil. We are reminded of the agricultural and cattle wealth already existing, and of the potential coffee and timber riches that can be developed by American money. "Mexico," says *Liberty*, "could support 50,000,000 persons in plenty where now the vast majority of its 14,250,000 live in wretched misery." "The per capita wealth is a few cents." (Bold-face mine).

This frank mouthpiece of American Empire tells the interested that, "Rubber development (in Mexico) would help smash British control." I now quote the remainder of the inspired word of this conspicuous champion of the workers' right to stay unorganized and be better exploited. Here is the summary of its superlative chauvinism:

The United States (and the world) needs oil. More than 20,000,000 automobile owners are vitally interested in having Mexican oil and rubber developed. We (and the world) need Mexican ore, cattle, coal, and ranch products.

Apart from selfish political aspirations, greed, and ignorance, there are no reasons why Americans should not pour their surplus wealth over the politically drawn boundary, carry prosperity and education to their neighbors, and in return receive cheaper and more raw materials.

In this ridiculous economic situation, the Calles government is enforcing "Mexico for Mexicans" policy, forbidding alien capitalists to own more than forty-nine per cent of the stock of corporations, and expelling teachers who have striven with totally inadequate numbers to improve conditions.

The wiping out of the boundary would be a blessing to Mexico, a benefit to the United States and the world. How long this barrier can stand between dire need of capital on one side and natural demand on the other depends upon the patience of the Americans. A war may be necessary to remove this obstruction to economic advancement. All wars are born of stupidity, and this one would be more than usually stupid, since the same results could be obtained by friendly co-operation.

If war comes, Mexico will be the winner. Her government and her armies will fall, but her people will be infinitely more prosperous and happier.

The sweet solicitude of *Liberty* for the "half-starved peons," its tender compassion for our "uneducated" neighbors south of the Rio Grande almost moves me to tears. Only I am spared the lachrymation because I know that in this great, advanced, enlightened, matchlessly free and glorious United States of America there are 3,000,000 illiterate citizens, and that not radicals but prominent, proficient, bourgeois physicians qualified by training and experience to speak have stated publicly that 4,000,000 American children go to school each

morning minus their breakfasts. I know, too, that several million more children are enslaved in the most up-to-date Yankee fashion in the industries of this country. If you will turn to another part of the magazine in your hands you can see for yourself some of the photographed evidence and read various truths about American "prosperity" as it affects the little ones. Then, finally, I am aware of the benefactions of the publishers of **Liberty** who pay their women wage slaves a niggardly pittance, rush them like mad through the long shifts, and are so mindful of the welfare of

these employees that they can make up a living somehow, anyhow, but not from the W. F. Hall Printing Company.

When secretaries of state and capitalist journalists are so candidly opposed to the Mexican Government it augurs ill for the political independence of that country. Since my plan in these articles has been to describe Mexican oil phenomena first the quoted State Department venom and the jingo scurrility just related are very apt. Mexico merits



GENERAL STRIKE PROTEST IN TAMPICO AGAINST MURDER OF OIL WORKERS BY TROOPS IN 1924. ARROW POINTS TO I. W. W. BANNER

this enmity because there are vast deposits of oil in Mexico. That fact overshadows all other considerations. You noticed, did you not, that according to the *Liberty* figures, over a billion dollars are invested by Americans in Mexico. The Mexican News Service (Bulletin No. 31 of May 5th, 1926) gives less pretentious, but still formidable, figures. The service says that:

The capital invested in oil in Mexico according to countries is as follows:

Mexican pesos	
448,157,836	57.46%
204,048,322	26.16%
88,639,949	11.37%
23,519,946	3.02%
7,101,092	0.91%
4,061,965	0.52%
1,367,056	0.17%
1,119,990	0.14%
693,998	0.09%
468,999	0.06%
225,000	0.03%
226,000	0.03%
150,945	0.02%
150,000	0.02%
	100.00%

Mexican petroleum production slumped in 1925 due to the failure of American oil companies to produce to capacity in Mexico. These interests averred that over-production prevailed. They wanted to boost prices and therefore arranged matters so that oil was not too abundant on the market. The table above indicates the continued existence of the bitter contest between American and English capitalists in Mexican oil production. And though geological experts, motivated by interest and prejudice, differ on the extent of the sub-soil oil wealth in Mexico, they can not disagree on the fact that of the 150,000,000 acres of oil land in that country only 15,000,000 acres are under development. This economic prize is still so immensely

tempting, especially to capitalists fighting as never before for world markets, that we can not anticipate cessation of the conflict of interests questing oleous aggrandizement.

American capitalists need more oil than can be supplied by United States wells. Oil imports must increase to meet the demand, and, as is indicated by the above figures, Mexico is a very convenient source of supply, and one which the wily Doheny and his satellites were first to exploit. The contest for Mexican oil terrains may develop into a first-class war, either between the governments whose nationals seek the oil, or between the United States and Mexico, in which case England might be the latter's ally.

Figures for 1925 world oil production are not yet available, so I am presenting the Mexican News Service table for 1924.

	Barrels	Percent
United States	714,000,000	70.4677%
Mexico	139,678,294	13.7854%
Russia	45,162,000	4.4572%
Persia	31,845,000	3.1429%
Dutch Indies	21,000,000	2.0726%
Roumania	13,296,000	1.3122%
Venezuela	9,500,000	0.9376%
India	8,150,000	0.8044%
Peru	7,812,000	0.7710%
Poland (Galicia)	5,710,000	0.5636%
Sarawak (British Borneo)	4,500,000	0.4441%
Trinidad	4,284,000	0.4228%
Argentina	3,844,000	0.3794%
Japan	1,600,000	0.1579%
Egypt	1,107,000	0.1093%
Columbia	500,000	0.0493%
France (Alsace)	436,000	0.0430%
Germany	350,000	0.0345%
Canada	175,000	0.0173%
Czecho-Slovakia	100,000	0.0099%
Italy	33,000	0.0033%
Algeria	14,000	0.0014%
Cuba	4,000	0.0004%
Other countries	130,000	0.0128%
	1,013,230,294	100.0000%

In 1901 Mexico produced 10,345 barrels of oil, with a value of 2,069 pesos, and in 1924 it produced 139,678,294 barrels, with a value of 272,084,563 pesos. In 1911 Mexico began exporting oil, shipping 901,596 barrels. The 1924 export was 129,699,788 barrels. The United States received about 73 per cent of this export. England about 7½ per cent, Holland around 2 per cent, and Canada approximately 1¼ per cent. Most of the rest went to Latin American countries.

The American Empire, conscious of oil's preponderant worth in trade and battle, covets Mexico, and but for English antagonism would engage Mexico in a second war. The Church in Mexico is with the old, decadent, arrogant class of rich landholders, who have been on the decline as the aftermaths of several revolutions. While Cardinal Bourne of England calls on Catholic workers to scab "because the general strike is revolutionary," it is very engrossing to watch the machinations of

the Catholic Church in Mexico where it is striving to foment revolution. The *Leyes de Reforma* (Reform Laws) rousing the law-defying clergy in Mexico provide that all real estate held by religious communities is national property. This legislation merely re-affirms many Mexican statutes taking their initiative from the model of 1859. The laws are intended to separate Church and State and to keep the clericals out of politics. Article 130 of the 1917 Constitution declares that priests and ministers of all faiths must be Mexican citizens. Foreign priests carrying on official functions since then have acted extra-legally. A group of them plotted against the government with the Archbishop of Mexico, who is a Mexican citizen. *The Nation* of March 17th, 1926 comments in this manner on the mildness of the judgment when these conspirators were tried and found guilty: "If a country has the right to deport pernicious foreigners on ethical grounds or for transgressing not only the laws but even the mere police regulations of the places where they live, so much more justified is a state in expelling an alien who, disregarding the hospitality bestowed upon him, defies the law and endangers the peace of the country."

Accompanying photographs of Mexican oil strikers, reproduced from the January 1924 issue of this magazine, show that all is not roseate for the poor, benighted workers under the industrial tutelage of American big business. It is well for us to keep these facts in mind because the time may come sooner than many expect when troops and

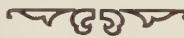


OIL STRIKERS MARCHING WITH RED FLAGS TO JOIN 1924 TAMPICO DEMONSTRATION—LA HUASTICA REFINERY IN BACKGROUND

Marines again go into Mexico to defeat our fellow workers in oil and other industries who are organizing for industrial freedom. The American government which intervened in Mexico, ordered Black Jack Pershing across the line of a supposedly sovereign country, played one party against another for the benefit of the thief, Doheny, is trying to find a pretext to bring Mexico to her knees, is searching for the chance to establish in that land unquestioned, unchallenged American capitalist domination, political and economic. Despite the lofty idealism of our journalistic contemporary, "Liberty," on the blessings that are to be derived in such a case by Mexico's masses we are extremely skeptical. The thousands of Haitians murdered by Marines, the acts of massacre of '98 in the Philippines, the economic ruin of the Virgin Islands under the Stars and Stripes, have made us dubious about these blessings. By the gunboats of Dollarica shooting prosperity into "backward," "culture-starved" Chinese strikers at Shanghai; by the enslavement by American capital in China of children by hundred thousands under seven years of age in the new factory system introduced to "civilize" the

heathens; and by many another historical incident of the eagle's prowess among weaker folk our faith in the refining, ennobling influence of United States financial and industrial imperialism plus cannon has been rudely, irreparably shaken. All that we suggest to modify President Calles "Mexico for the Mexicans," is a slight change to cause it to read: "Mexico for the Mexican workers."

Next month our study deals with an even vaster theater of oil diplomacy, intrigue and force. We are going to examine the Russian, Siberian, Persian and Mesopotamian oil situation. To understand this gigantic engagement of oil monopolies and their governments is to hold the key of knowledge in world diplomacy. We shall study the antagonistic movements of Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell, together with those of other subsidiary concerns. Our study should contribute to clearer comprehension of the class struggle raging throughout the capitalist world and insoluble without the destruction of the ruling class by revolutionary tempered hosts of militant workers economically organized the world over.



Show Your Appreciation!

"Beware of a movement that sings!" said a wise tyrant of old. Yes, and well may modern industrial autocrats beware of the I. W. W. movement that sings as it fights, and produces artists capable of such fine studies as that just below, and others throughout this magazine.



From all parts of the world we are daily receiving labor press exchanges containing reprints of the cartoons and drawings first run in our own I. W. W. press. Likewise, we constantly see translations of Wobbly poems and articles, and we know that the workers outside of America, who are more frequently class conscious than the species *Scissorbillicus Americanus*, are greatly influenced by the philosophy of the Industrial Workers of the World.

It's about time that you, the members of the I. W. W. as a whole, get behind your press and give it the support that it deserves. With English, German, French, Spanish, Mexican, Scandinavian, Australian and Asiatic workers alive to its value, don't you think you should wake up and send in a sub for yourself or someone else?

Editorials

THIS IS THE I. W. W.—Workers are makers, builders, givers of all good, creators of all wealth. Employers are thieves, wasters, destroyers, takers of wealth they do nothing to produce. Industrial tranquillity prevailing as a minority class of drones robs the majority class of workers would mark the latter's mental and spiritual bankruptcy.

PREAMBLE OF THE I. W. W.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

* * *

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

* * *

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

* * *

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

* * *

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

* * *

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Class war rages because capitalists deprive the workers of the wealth made by labor. Economic direct action is the I. W. W. method for destroying bourgeois power over wealth by working class seizure of the means of production.

Corporation payrolls each with seventy to a hundred thousand employees are common to industrialism. Great concerns control entire industries combining manifold trades. Gary's word is law to United States Steel. Banking firms decree work or idleness for millions of wage slaves. Standard Oil tankers are on every ocean. Ford has not only automobile plants, but glass and fabric factories, mines and a railroad. Conflicting trade unions are unequal to this combination. Yet William Green preaching disunion, class collaboration, and contented slavery, on his knees to the boss, whines, "We are not revolutionary, O, Lord!"

A trade union fighting the O. B. U. of Bosses is like facing an army with a corporal's guard, or a Big Bertha with pop-guns. Industrial unionism of employers must be matched by industrial unionism of workers making common cause because they know that what is good for the worker is bad for all bosses, and what is bad for the boss is good for all workers.

We do not want the right to exist, or the glorious opportunity of existing only to work. That "right" belongs to every mine mule and pack-horse in the world. We workers make all wealth and we want it all. To get it by economic direct action is the main purpose of the I. W. W. Fighting the boss class all the time on the jobs and on strike will train us to act together both before and after we have smashed capitalism. We shall break the shell of this slave system when our organized economic might is able to resolve social order from capitalist chaos.

BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE.—It is doubtful if capitalist mismanagement was ever more startlingly shown than in the operation of English collieries for the last few years. To this capitalist anarchy the miners' strike must be charged. The walk-out was not a revolution, but a vast movement of organized industrial workers striking together in support of the miners' heroic resistance against a more miserable existence standard than now obtains.

In 1913 British coal production was 287,000,000 tons; in 1924 it was 267,000,000, and in 1925 the tonnage dropped still further to 245,000,000. English coal exports for 1925 were 22 per cent. below the pre-war average. This decline is attributable to the enormous inflation of coal capital, and the technical backwardness of the owners. German coal is beating the English product on the European market. British managerial inefficiency holds tenaciously to obsolete machinery in spite of the French example of coal mine production increased since the war because modern machinery is used.

Between 1914 and 1921 the English coal industry, with a capital value of £135,000,000, yielded profits amounting to £308,000,000. Much of this huge surplus value was converted into nominal new capital on which additional profits had to be made. This shows that the owners are hardly as "poor but worthy" as they want the naive to believe.

Last July the operators attacked the wages of miners, by negotiation, but this was solidly opposed on "Red Friday." Then the bosses ordered their government to appoint a Coal Commission to do their dirty work. In 1925 the subsidy averted a strike, but it cost, up till April 30th of this year, £21,000,000. In the Economy Bill before parliament the government tried desperately to cut down expenses. How? By going after the parasites' "unearned increment"? Oh, no, the government obeys and respects its masters, so it tried to reduce the unemployment and health insurance doles. And the Coal Commission, what did it recommend? Composed entirely of capitalists it said that wages must

be reduced. This recommendation is quite interesting as an example of bourgeois regard for our welfare when we remember that in January 1926, 500,000 English miners were receiving less than £2 a week!

Concerning hours, the Commission said that no change should be made unless the miners should "freely prefer some extension of hours with a less reduction in wages." The miners did not prefer it. And this recommendation was not offered in solicitude for the miners' conditions, but was based on business reasons, for when did master classes ever care a snap of their fat fingers for slave class producers? The Commission declared that increased hours meant increased production in an industry where the owners were having the greatest difficulty in marketing the product of shorter shifts. Either that confronted the rulers or the alternative of throwing more miners on the state's unemployment insurance. And an increase of hours would place the English miners' workday in a worse position than that of any important European area, save Upper Silesia.

The Commission said that the wage reduction should be 10 per cent. The 1921 miners' minimum wage is set at 20 per cent. over 1914, and the government index for living costs is fixed at 75 per cent. above. The report says: "This does not mean simply a return to the minimum of 1921, i. e., a uniform reduction of 10 per cent. on the present minimum percentage. In some districts less may be needed, in others more. It will be for the mine owners and the miners to carry out by negotiation the necessary downward revision of district minima."

The subsidy was regarded on all sides as a makeshift, and the Trade Union General Council made every effort to induce a change of front of those bent on prosecuting this vicious wage slash. The strike was set for midnight. While the General Council met, Baldwin's cabinet was conniving near by. The premier showed his utter incompetency in the serious situation by becoming panic-stricken because he "heard" that the Daily Mail printers had struck. Accordingly he adjourned the

cabinet meeting, did not advise the Trade Unions, and when the latter's representatives came over after eleven o'clock they found the doors locked and the chambers dark. Immediately after this incident midnight brought the strike.

It was the greatest strike in the world's history. Eleven million workers demonstrated their vast power and paralyzed British industry. While Secretary Cook of the Miners' Federation said that the police and military would not shoot their own "kith and kin," employers and their governmental lackeys were helpless and fearful. The strikers were charged with "anarchy," but when all is known the world will realize that there was never a more orderly period in Britain's history. This is true because the solidarity of labor is almighty and needs no violence.

Then, with the bosses weakening rapidly, came the General Council betrayal. In a few more days the employers and Baldwin would have been begging the workers to set industry's wheels turning again, and the miners' fight would have been won. But there was another "Black Friday." The Council sold out, capitulated disgracefully and stupidly, and let the miners fight their own battle. But it should be recorded to the everlasting honor of millions of workers that they did not stampede to the industries even when the order was given. Still, the damage was done. Employers saw that the time was ripe for a sweeping offensive against organized labor. They declared that discrimination in reinstating the workers was to be shown as a punitive measure. Many papers began operating on a non-union basis. Of the 500,000 railroad workers it was announced by the owners that only 350,000 were to be replaced. The rest are to be **strafed**—speeded up—while the discarded 150,000 railroaders can join the unemployed. The rulers are intent on rooting out the general strike idea. It looks too much like revolution.

The miners are still out, terms of an extension of the subsidy are being argued, but had the General Council been faithful

to the general strike we should now be witnesses of a complete victory of the workers. Efficacy of the I. W. W. tactical program for the conduct of strikes was justified by the English conflict. Economic direct action, manifested on the largest scale ever witnessed, had the bosses by the throat crying for help, and it was winning the battle quickly and fully. The bosses trembled lest it should dawn on the strikers to spring over the living wage demand and rush along the economic highroad to industrial freedom. Labor's solidarity had to be smashed or the bosses were lost, and the smashing came because of the colossal treason of ignorant leaders and crooked leaders and lickspittle leaders.

But is it all loss to our class? No, indeed. A war is not made by a single battle, and one general strike must be followed by others to maneuver into position to win the class war. The workers do not need politics or politicians any more than they need employers or other vermin on their backs. The economic way is the only way to freedom. Our organized power in industry is all-sufficient to take the industries, and there is no other manner in which they can be seized and operated by the revolutionary proletariat.

England's workers are sure to repeat the general strike. Economic pressure will compel them again to act together. In our generation we should expect to see the end of capitalism in England by the triumph of the industrial workers advancing in economic formation. They shall take the industries by this procedure; drive the employers out of control; and use every means at their command to keep them out. That is the comprehensive task of class conscious unionism determined to destroy the wage system. Every activity directed for or incidental to the seizure and maintenance of the land and industries is, in the I. W. W. conception, the necessary function of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism. The workers in England, America, Russia or anywhere else can overthrow capitalism and achieve economic emancipation only by using Economic Direct Action.



Joe Hill, I. W. W. song writer and organizer, was framed up, falsely convicted of murder, and killed by the State of Utah on November 19, 1915. He met death before a firing squad.

Frank Little, I. W. W. organizer, was mutilated and lynched at Butte, Montana, on August 1, 1917. "They couldn't dam" his "life blood, so they spilled it."

Wesley Everest was one of the defenders of the I. W. W. Hall at Centralia, Washington, against the lumber trust mob on November 11, 1919. He was caught, later taken from the jail by "respectable" business men, unsexed by a prominent Washington doctor, and then hanged to a railroad trestle.

All of these fellow workers and many more have paid the greatest penalty dealt to thinking slaves who rebel. But you, the workers, are not asked to die for the cause of freedom—you are asked only to **LIVE** for it.

Sing To Us

By HENRY GEORGE WEISS

SING to us bravely of the martyred dead
Who with their bleeding feet had
stained the path
Of shame, of degradation and of wrath
Reaction made them tread.

SING to us of the saviors of the race
Stoned, hanged and shot for brother-
hood of man;
Hill, Everest, Little, breathe such names
and fan
The flame of freedom to illume our
face.

SO SHALL we find the ardor to go on
When friends forsake and martyrdom
is nigh;
So shall we, hearing, feel our courage
high,
Though dungeons yawn.



FRANK LITTLE



The Socialization of Invention

By A CIVIL ENGINEER

IN SEVERAL issues of the present series of the Pioneer, it has been my privilege to analyze some recent inventions from the point of view of their bearing upon the workers most directly affected by their application as well as to point out, in every specific instance, the marvelous adaptability of the structural form of organization known as industrial unionism to give to the workers most interested in these industrial changes the power to prevent a lowering of their wages, such being the common result of mechanical improvements to production under a regime of private ownership.

As a synthesis of some of those articles, it may not be amiss to attempt a study of the process of invention in itself.

What is an invention?

An invention is a better way of doing a certain thing than the one in current use.

There are many very nice stories connected with the birth of invention, most of them myths. Newton walking in his garden saw an apple fall from a tree and, presto, the law of gravitation was invented. Unfortunately apples have hit millions of people on the head before and since Newton, and have failed to establish in their minds the slightest connection with gravitation. Had the same Newton not, for years, been thinking about that particular phenomenon, the falling apple would have taught him nothing. To that extent only, the story may be true.

Marconi answers the question better. He claims that invention is not a special gift but an achievement born of necessity and at work in all of us. An invention, in his opinion, is a novel device that meets a new need and accomplishes its purpose

more efficiently than the method in current use at a given epoch.

The main cause of invention then is economic necessity and that necessity is a matter of social consciousness. An invention only becomes valuable inasmuch as it meets that consciousness.

A workman, in a factory, makes an ingenious device which helps him in his daily task. The fact becomes known to his fellow workers but does not spread beyond that group. Again, the same man contrives a home-made bicycle which is an object

of interest to the whole town. But when that obscure inventor perfects an appliance that revolutionizes a whole industry, the facts are published to the world and enter the larger social consciousness.

There have been great scientific discoveries all through the ages. Heron of Alexandria invented a steam turbine 200 B. C. The Chinese invented gunpowder hundreds of years before the Europeans and went no further than to use it for fireworks. Those discoveries lay dormant and to us of the present day they are but interesting accidents.

In every invention which is successful, there enters a primary social element. An isolated invention or new idea is worthless until brought into subordination to the general body of existing knowledge. An invention must take place on the fringe of existing knowledge, inside the borderland between yesterday and tomorrow.

There exists a fundamental difference between the inventor and the engineer. Very few engineers have made inventions. Many inventors have failed or have achieved slow success because of lack of engineering skill in construction and design. Inventor and engineer,

in relation to invention, are very different people, although sometimes living inside the same skin. Individual invention began by the exercise of the imagination but patented improvements on existing inventions are more engineering than invention.

It is on account of that relation of invention of the individual kind with imagination more than realization in material form, that so many inventions came in doubles and even in triples. The

"Socialized invention is so evident a function of society that a large part of it has already been thrown upon the government agencies in Washington. The political state is today shouldering the financial burden of the research work only to hand over the results to private owners and corporations as a means of further exploitation of the great masses of the people."

"The work of invention of a future age neither can nor will be carried out through the political state. The political state is unfit for any kind of economic or technical mission. Socialized invention and the social ownership of the fruits of such invention will never reach the wonderful scope which the progress of modern scientific methods is ready to give them unless the economic state of the future in the shape of a functional federation of economic activities, is substituted for the present political state, whose function and nature are predicated upon the existence of a useless super-class of private owners."

same idea, on account of its social origin, leads to the same invention springing up in two or three different places at the same time. An urge of a social character existed in many minds and brought about simultaneous responses in different places at the same time. The result was the endless discussions as to priority which surround the materialization of every new idea.

The social urge which leads to invention also caused people to work together with the result that, even in the course of the individualistic period, inventions have increased the possibility as well as the necessity of men working together for one purpose.

A great pioneer invention, after it has been conceived in general outline, leads to problems which it is impossible for one man to solve. After Alexander Graham Bell gave the world a telephone which could hardly transmit speech in its initial stage, other men had to be engaged to reduce the invention to commercial practicability. One of these men, to whom we really owe the modern telephone, was Thomas A. Edison, although the general public does not know it. He was engaged by the original promoters of the telephone to make the instrument commercial. Since that time, equally brilliant but more obscure men have devoted their lives to the improvement of the telephone, men who do nothing else but invent improved systems to meet the expanding needs of the future. Such men are Charles Scribner, J. J. Carty, William Dean and others.

Our own unforgettable Charles P. Steinmetz has given us what constitutes perhaps the best classification of inventions in existence. According to Steinmetz, there are three main classes of inventions.

1. Fundamental inventions which create new fields for human effort or open a new era in the history of the world, such as the steam engine, the steamboat and the locomotive.

2. Inventions which are merely steps in the design and development of things, such as a new form of gear shift in the automobile or a new method of winding an electric coil.

3. Incidental or accidental inventions such as puzzles, tricks, etc.

Most patents are issued on combination claims, in which the invention consists in a new way of assembling old elements. It is only very seldom that someone discovers something entirely new.

The evolutionary process of invention may, in turn, be established as follows.

First period: Individual inventions.

Second period: Transitory period of individualistic inventions subordinated to commercial feasibility.

Third period: Standardized or socialized inventions.

The second period is, by all odds, the most interesting. It has always most distinctively appealed

to popular imagination. It involves, first, the struggle of the inventor to get himself taken seriously. Eli Whitney was thought something of a nut until his cotton gin actually started ginning. Bell was a visionary schoolmaster until a group of Boston lawyers began to perceive the first boundless possibilities of his first crude telephone. George Westinghouse was a plain nitwit for declaring that a moving train could be stopped by thin air.

With recognition came generally a struggle for the ownership of the now accepted invention. For the success of the individual inventor involved a struggle between invention and ownership, a relation between invention and capital. The rule-of-thumb accidental inventor generally got robbed by the commercial organizer.

The reason for this occurrence has not always been correctly grasped because it is based upon the fundamental characters of our economic system.

A commodity which is the result of invention needs to be constantly studied, experimented with and improved. Where that is not done, other inventions will soon supersede it and drive it off the market. To carry on this work successfully, a mechanical genius is usually required. Such men, however, are frequently visionary; they have seldom had a business training. They are rarely capable of co-ordinating and controlling the many and complex factors that go to make up a successful manufacturing institution, yet they are an essential part of such an organization.

So, many if not most of the pitfalls that confronted the individual inventors were of their own making. They generally started out by demanding a flat sum in cash. The business men knew that an invention must be developed and commercialized and, therefore, they preferred to buy it on a royalty basis.

Here the inventor found himself in the presence of the economic factor which wanted to protect invested capital. Many railroad men have in their mind one or two inventions that may improve railroading, but which are not adopted because their adoption would require a rebuilding of our entire railroad system.

All that haggling between invention and capital generally came to a head in a fight in which the capitalist got the best.

If an invention had any immediately marketable value, the capitalists generally had it in use from Maine to California before the inventor knew it, patent or no patent.

Two recent cases have proved the truth of this statement. The first is the case of Carlson. He invented the side-loading process in use in the smelting of copper. The smelter trust went ahead and used it for years. Carlson started a fight in the courts and got the worst of the battle. Finally, at the end of his rope, he assigned his claims to

bankers who agreed to stake him. As I write, he is a patient in a charity hospital. For years he lived in cheap lodging houses on the San Francisco waterfront, many times skipping a meal. All the time, the legal battle was raging with some of the finest legal talent in the nation on both sides. Recently the higher courts decided in favor of Carlson but the trust lawyers never admitted defeat. After every decision they started out on a new tack. Present decisions make Carlson the prospective possessor of twenty-odd million dollars. It is not much of a prophecy that he will never reach the day where he will finger the actual cash. He is old and privation has shortened the span of his days.

In the same city lives one Blake F. Hopkins and a lower federal court recently ruled to enjoin the Standard Oil Co., Moore and San and others from using a spraying machine for painting without paying him royalties. Hopkins's machine is probably the most successful spraying machine ever devised. It was put on the market eleven years ago. He also has now millions coming but the lawyers for the trusts know how to play the court game to the limit. It may be another eleven years before Hopkins handles any real cash, if he ever does.

Many more similar instances, hundreds of them, could be quoted. Steinmetz sized the situation up in its true light when he stated: "The independent engineers and individual inventors are, as a rule, not commercial. With them the invention is the thing. They are thus depending on others for the flotation and success of their creations. This makes them, with few exceptions, the prey of corporations and the victims of disastrous litigation."

Some people more anxious to defend the capitalistic system than to establish the truth will interpose the objection that the inventor is protected by his patent.

The scope of any patent is limited. To become patented, an invention must be described in such a way that anyone skilled in the art can make use of it. It is an accepted principle of law that one cannot patent an idea. A patent is a protection until someone else proves that he invented the patented commodity before you. So, in most cases, a patent is only a license to sue or to be sued.

A valuable invention may not be open to patent because it has been described in print in such a way that anyone could do the same thing.

When Lewis Nixon was building the first American submarine, he spoke to Morgan Robertson, the writer, about the necessity of a scheme that would allow the captain of the sub to see where he was going. The writer immediately suggested a telescoping tube with mirrors set at the proper angle that could be shoved to the surface when the sub was submerged. This was practically the periscope. Nixon liked the idea and started out to patent it. It would have meant a fortune for Robertson, but

the examiners of the patent office went back to a copy of Jules Verne's "Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea" and the writer did not get his patent. Verne's description was so detailed that Robertson could not even claim priority for the idea.

In other cases, a patent is so all-inclusive that it becomes inapplicable and would practically hamper industry. This was the case of the Selden patent. It was so broad that it covered any kind of a gasoline engine. Henry Ford disregarded it and was sued. He lost out in the lower courts but, on appeal, he won out on the strength of the fact that the patent only covered two-cycle engines. The four-cycle engine was not in commercial use at the time the Selden patent was taken out. The litigation cost the contending parties over half a million dollars.

The omission of the slightest detail of a previous patent in a new contrivance constitutes an improvement. The original patentee, in such a case, is guilty of claiming more than he needs.

The general cause of all this hairsplitting may be found in the circumstance that the individual inventor always forgot that he was but a stage in an endless process, a theoretical moment in a continuous flow of time. What he lacked was a sociological view of the constant change of human tools under the influence of economic necessity.

The time factor plays an important part in invention. Time is of the essence of mechanical invention in any field. Generally any single inventor contributes but one radical innovation in any domain which is then later taken up again as a secure objective element by the following inventor and pushed forward under the same circumstances as previously. The span of time between the original invention and its improvement serves to produce a kind of habituation which strips the preceding discovery of its personal character and makes it mere technical material for the next inventor to work on.

The consoling feature of this situation consists in that it has served to attract attention upon the value of the labors of those who have failed. The rules of private property sent them away without any reward but, after all, their research work was valuable to the next investigator who stepped in where they had left off and finally found the long looked for solution on the basis of what the unsuccessful ones had learned through their failures.

With the advent of the corporations, the individual inventors began to disappear. The corporations needed new processes and, in order to get them, they reduced the inventor to the status of a wage worker, paying him to experiment and claiming the ownership of all what he might discover. Steinmetz considered this arrangement as preferable to the old hit-and-miss system. He remarks that the corporation provided the problem and all the necessary means to its solution and that, under

such conditions, the pay of the experimenter covered the product of his originality.

The individual inventor always started from an ill-defined point of departure. The corporation inventor faced specific problems passed over to him in the course of his duties.

Then the corporation went one step further. It divided a technical problem into several minor inventions which were passed over for solution to experts in various fields and then put together under the direction of the company's engineers. Instead of one salaried inventor's, the invention thus became the joint product of the labors of many specialists.

The invention of telephoned photographs is an instance of such a procedure. Twenty-four telephone engineers invented to order, each one detail of the process.

Here we have the new or socialized form of invention. It disposes of a wealth of facilities and equipment which the old rule-of-thumb inventor could never have dreamt of possessing.

The work which the inventors of large corporations are doing could never have been accomplished by independent inventors of ordinary means. In developing what is known as the Rex pulling over machine, for example, a machine which is to be found in every well-equipped shoe factory, the hired inventors of the United Shoe Machinery Company spent no less than a million dollars. They solved a problem which independent inventors had long given up as utterly impossible. Similarly the development of the tungsten filament lamp was the result of the expenditure of millions of dollars on both sides of the Atlantic, in special laboratories maintained by the largest electric companies in the world at an enormous expense.

The tungsten filament lamp is an improvement upon the carbon filament lamp that Edison gave us some twenty years ago. To perfect it, it became necessary to conduct research work in metallurgy, chemistry, physics, optics, physiology, psychology, spectroscopy, microscopy and half a dozen more sciences. The task of giving to the world such inventions is so complex, so huge, that an independent inventor with the fortune of a Rockefeller could never have hoped to cope with it. No man has knowledge enough to do it. The problem must be divided among a hundred specialists each of whom solves the little special problem assigned to him.

One of the consequences of that high cost of inventions is the limitation of the work to one single or to a very small number of agencies. Work that years ago would have been the share of any inventor who felt like doing it, is now confined to one laboratory or to two or three universities.

Another consequence is the introduction of the time factor, always associated with the machine process. A corporation not only orders an inven-

tion and pays for it, but it wants that invention perfected within a given time.

The newer form of invention now in existence among us is social in its origin and society must realize the danger which threatens its existence when the results of a process which is social in its origin are allowed to be appropriated by a private corporation.

It is up to society to invent socially, to organize the process of invention deliberately, to preserve its continuity by subsidizing, criticizing and directing it.

Economic necessity right at the present time calls for new inventions which no man in his right mind could possibly conceive as the private property of an individual or a corporation.

Let me give one or two instances.

Nobody individually discovered the micro-organism that caused hog cholera and a yearly loss to this country of eighteen million dollars. Could anyone honestly conceive the serum which has brought the disease well under control and which the South Dakota Experimental Station considers as 90 p. c. perfect, being owned by a private firm?

The University of Wisconsin reduced the loss due to oats-smut from 20% to one-half of one per cent, saving the agricultural industry of one single state four and a half million dollars per year. Who, besides a lunatic, would want the ownership of such a discovery to be vested anywhere else than in the collectivity?

Even the private direction of modern investigation would not fail to interfere with the value of the results obtained.

The National Canners' Association ordered and paid for an investigation of botulism. Such an investigation because financed by those who are commercially most interested in it must be one-sided and less valuable than if it had been made by a Washington bureau.

There is danger, from a social point of view, in leaving research work concerning food preservation to the laboratory of the National Canners' Association. Such research work should be social.

Never has the illogical and unscientific character of our whole social system appeared more glaringly than in this matter. Socialized invention is so evident a function of society that a large part of it has already been thrown upon the government agencies in Washington. The political state is today shouldering the financial burden of research work only to hand over the results to private owners and corporations as a means of further exploitation of the great masses of the people.

Many of the processes which lie at the basis of the Dupont companies, in the manufacture of explosives, were invented socially in the U. S. Bureau of Ordnance and became the property of those corporations either through outright gift or through

the hiring of the men who had helped to bring them about.

The work of invention of a future age neither can nor will be carried out through the political state. The political state is unfit for any kind of economic or technical mission. Socialized invention and the social ownership of the fruits of such invention will never reach the wonderful scope which the progress of modern scientific methods is ready to give them unless the economic state of the future in the shape of a functional federation of economic activities, is substituted for the present political state, whose function and nature are predicated upon the existence of a useless super-class of private owners.

I shall probably be met, at this phase of my argument, with the facile retort that inventive genius will become extinct if we dare to lay hands upon the huge financial rewards which must be hung up as a bait to inventors to bolster up their steadiness of purpose and sharpen their genius.

I deny the very premises upon which this objection rests.

Take the case of Edison. He is not today as rich as many of the financiers who exploited his patents, and most of his wealth is not the result of his inventions as much as it is the fruit of his commercial activities in the production and marketing of the commodities manufactured under his patents.

This is true to a much larger extent of Henry Ford. He is primarily wealthy not as a great inventor but as a commercial leader of inventive activities carried on through the organization which he has created.

In the appreciation of the corporation for which he worked, Steinmetz was the greatest technician that ever lived. The General Electric gave tangible proof of its appreciation when it gave up the idea of further raising his salary and told him to check against it for whatever funds he wanted. I do not believe that there exists another instance like that in the whole of our industrial history. And there could be no better conclusion to this article than the very words in which Steinmetz himself disposes of the stock argument of modern capitalism in the matter of incentive to invention.

"Obviously, in socialistic society, there would be no special interests opposing the inventor's fullest recognition; no man belittling and denying his invention for commercial reasons and the realization that a successful invention would be immediately adopted by the whole national or international industry, and used for the common good, that it would make the inventor a hero, but a hero of creation and not destruction—as have been most heroes of the past—all this will be an incentive for the inventor far greater than anything present day society has to offer."

In Next Month's Pioneer

LUDLOW—New Light on the Memorable Coal Mine Strike, and the Rockefeller Massacre. Told by an Eye-Witness Newpaperman.

THE NEW GOLD RUSH—Heard of Red Lake in Canada and Hollinger? Well, you haven't heard anything until you get the vivid story in **TRUTH** from J. A. MacDonald.

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION UNIONISM—And Its Future, Is Sam Murray's Hopeful, Educational Message to 330 and the I. W. W. A Great Article!

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BOOK REVIEWS

"The Great God Brown" is a play of masks, of the fantastic, the *alter egos* taking turns on the stage with the egos. It was too deep for me and for four others And I asked to read it, so we must let it go at that and wait until the author or someone else explains what it is all about.

"The Fountain" is better, good romanticism, but in the tale of Ponce de Leon, O'Neill is not as good as in his realism. "The Moon on the Caribbees"



and "Bound East for Cardiff" were reviewed in the January 1925 Pioneer, and they are very gripping plays. "The Long Voyage Home" is a one-act tragedy and the best in the collection of nine plays contained in the volume. This is set in a dive on the London water-front, a place frequented by sailors and prostitutes. "In the Zone," "Ile," "Where the Cross is Made," and "The Rope" are the other titles.

In spite of all the defects in the first two plays named above, they have passages of great beauty and strength, and throughout O'Neill has done a fine labor. The publishers are also to be congratulated on the good taste shown in the binding and arrangement. The book is really a work of art. And in the subject matter—save for the

fantasy—are the wisdom and realism which have made O'Neill a power in the new drama.

—EMMET MURRAY

THE GREAT GOD BROWN. The Fountain, The Moon on the Caribbees and Six Other Plays, by Eugene O'Neill. 388 pages, 1926, Boni and Liveright, New York City. Price, \$2.50.

—O—

Proceeding from the premise that the pressure of population obliges governments to find foreign or colonial territory for their surplus people, John Bakeless has written a very enlightening book endeavoring to show the causes of modern war.

His theorem, as he states in so many words, is that present conditions are alarmingly similar to those existing just prior to the war in 1914, and that an explosion may be imminent.

Without doubt population is growing, but to say that such growth is the cause of war is a superficial observation. It is, however, convenient to investigators who repudiate the surplus value theory, because then it is not obligatory on them to get down to fundamentals. The capitalist class is guilty not only of keeping production curtailed by throwing millions of workers out of jobs during crises, but it is responsible for a managerial waste in addition, which engineers, not radicals, have estimated to be enormous, and on top of this crime capitalists pile another—that of destroying, by other means than consumption, fully half the wealth produced by workers. While wage slaves need corn for food we find farmers burning it for fuel because there has been "too much produced." Potatoes rot in the ground because to harvest them all in seasons when nature is most gracious with her gifts means to lower the price. Child slaves in woolen mills have been found to be without underwear; workers wear broken, bum-looking shoes though they produce the best shoes ever known to the race; and it is a normal condition for factories to operate at only 75 per cent of their productive capacity. And this where the workers are speeded as never before. The reason for the failure to utilize the entire productive powers is found in idle machines, and other equipment.

Knowing that the existing productive ability of the workers is fully equal to assuring all who toil a living standard immensely better than now prevails, and that, with utilization of the parasitic class in wealth-creating roles and elimination of waste due to greed and bourgeois incompetency, the conditions of the race can be improved so greatly that it is idle to set limitations, we reject Mr. Bakeless's premise as unscientific, and consequently

Too Many Humans For Peace?

untenable. Productive ability has been solved; distributive arrangements must be perfected. As such arrangements are attendant upon the overthrow of present rulers and the assumption of all power by the workers, it is more "respectable" to blame "overpopulation" for making wars, than the presence of surplus values requiring markets in whose quest national rivalries are engendered.

Still it is quite educational to read the book. It is illustrated with maps, has a bibliography and index, and does correctly analyze the strategy of diplomats and governments in international dealings. But to credit capitalist states with any paternalistic concern for the wage slaves born in these states is to fail at understanding the nature of the state. This nature is oppressive, and it is for nothing but oppression of one class by another that the economic masters who own the state allow it to function. Plenty of all human necessities are created by the workers, and they can have the whole product when they put the bosses in overalls.

—Ellen Martin.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NEXT WAR, by John Bakeless, Viking Press, New York, 1926. Price, \$2.50.

—O—

"Psychology," by Everett Dean Martin, is a large book of 302 pages, constituting a well written inquiry into the most diverse habits of **A Good Text Book** human beings, attempting in this way to arrive at mental processes reacting to environmental stimuli. The book gives the "Place of William James" in psychology, that of Freud and the psychoanalytical school, to whom the author gives great credit for shedding light on the science, the behaviorist position and others. Little more than the briefest mention of the lectures-in-print can be made here.

These lectures are on how we think, the meaning of intelligence tests, the place of propaganda and public opinion in psychology, an examination of religion, politics and class consciousness, and many other matters of interest to students.

In the lecture on religion, the author, admitting religion to be emotional, tries to discover just what it is, as Plato did. Martin's conclusion is that it is the effort for redemption, salvation of the soul from sin. This will illustrate to you just how much fuss the book is sure to stir up the more it is read, especially as Professor Martin treads on toes indiscriminately. Many religionists reject the theological explanations concerning religion as a purely salvationist phenomenon, and regard the group life of human beings, as lived through the ages, in itself a religious act and the inherent purpose of religion. Such an opinion will have nothing to do with theology. The word's derivation will support this contention.

But you should read the book if you want to find a wealth of information, and if you are looking for

points to approve or disapprove. You'll find them there, without a doubt. I did, and so should you. The last paragraphs bear this out. Listen to this:

"The king rules by the grace of God; the mob by the precept of Righteousness."

And this:

"It is in this sense (urbanity, ability to suspend judgement, self-understanding, idealism, and appreciation of value) that psychology has educational importance. I do not say that psychology is all; by no means. The student should, if he has not done so before, develop an interest in classic literature, in general philosophy and natural science. . . . Our aim has been to attain insight such as will enable us to know when we and others are merely rationalizing and when we are trying to solve real problems. By means of this insight we should be better able to see the true meaning our our behavior and to make some progress at least in self-control and in a knowledge of what is worth doing, which is, after all, the same as a knowledge of men. It is only with such knowledge, and under the voluntary leadership of those who have it, that social progress can ever create or preserve the things which differentiate men from monkeys and distinguish the civilized man from the savage."

—Louise Myers.

PSYCHOLOGY, by Everett Dean Martin, The People's Institute Publishing Co., New York City. Price, \$3.00.

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The outstanding facts of the industrial revolution of 18th Century England, its historical setting and social consequences, are interestingly and effectively portrayed in **How Albion's Bosses Started** J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond. Here is told the story of how commerce, stimulated by the discovery of new trade routes from Europe to Asia and by the colonization of the Americas, impregnated the old economic order of England and caused it to give birth to an entirely new system of production.

With the discovery of unlimited markets for manufactured goods of Western Europe, markets that promised profits greater than any dreamed of by the old traders in the silks and spices of the Orient, prevailing methods of production became utterly inadequate and every energy was bent toward the improvement and speeding up of industry. Under the ever present stimulus of an insatiable demand factories grew up and displaced the spinning and weaving industry of the homes; the demand for iron and steel goods led to the application of coal to the ore smelting process and this in turn drove the coal mine owners to search for an economical method of removing the water from the deeper pits. The solution was

found in the application of steam to the pumps. Soon thereafter the steam engine took its place in the factories, immeasurably facilitating production, and became the factor that more than any other distinguished the new system from the old.

Most interesting is the readjustment that took place to bring the whole social organism into harmony with the new system of production. The class always craving wealth and anxious to enhance its power, found new methods and safer ones to exploit the workers.

The feudal lords, as soon as they saw profits in prospect from the sale of agricultural products, dispossessed the peasants and confiscated the commons. The peasant became either a wage slave in the city or a wage slave in the country where formerly he had been at least semi-independent with certain privileges guaranteed by custom and law. Indeed, for many of them there was no alternative, workers were forced into the factories whether they wished to go or not. In the 17th Century, and part of the 19th, a worker was any poor person five years of age or over.

Government reflected faithfully the anarchy that prevailed in industry. Old laws that were in any way favorable to the workers were first generally disregarded and then repealed. New practices intolerably injurious to the workers were introduced, and having become established in spite of many vigorous protests, they received the sanction of Parliament and became law. Workers' organizations were declared illegal.

Philosophy, science and religion gave almost unqualified support to the new order. Sanitation in the working class districts was not thought of; education and amusement for the workers was denounced as being unnecessary and dangerous. It was not until 1834 that a law was passed prohibiting the employment of boys and girls between the ages of 9 and 18 for more than 10 hours a day.

The authors are inclined to give some credit for the expansion of industry and for the adoption of measures restricting the rapacity of the new master class, to the growth of "public spirit" within it. We find little evidence of this in the whole story. Canals, roads and bridges were not built until increased profits appeared as an inducement. Agriculture was not improved until expanding markets promised a rich reward, and not until the peasants had been largely dispossessed so that the advantages would all accrue to the nobility. Finally laws restricting the employment of children and laws regulating the conditions of employment generally were not enforced until it became apparent to the more far sighted of the capitalists that the abject misery of the workers was an ever growing menace to their position.

The closing chapter of the book, "The Beginning of a New Society," does not offer much consolation to the modern proletarian. Perhaps it is

because the authors do not realize that the necessary complement of the industrial revolution is the social revolution which will abolish classes and wage slavery and place the benefits of machine production within the reach of all mankind.

—Carl Keller.

THE RISE OF MODERN INDUSTRY, by J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. Price \$2.75.

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In "Left Wing Unionism" I was naturally more interested in what is said about the I. W. W. than

Left Wing any other part of the labor movement, because I am an I. W. W. And he has plenty to say of our "evangelism," lack of business methods, our being a "remnant" going downhill, and that we have barely 10,000 members. Why did Mr. Saposs, after declaring us to be chiefly a migratory worker organization, choose a winter month for his figures? Our financial statement for the last fiscal year will show a year-around membership of 16,355, and had Mr. Saposs picked a summer month for his findings he would discover a membership of from twenty to twenty-five thousand.

We are charged with having little or no sense, and of failing, because of this stupidity, to organize the American workers. But later on he says that we are good propagandists. Is good propagandizing consistent with organizational stupidity? If charges of stupidity are to be made kindly direct them at the unorganized and misorganized workers who belong with us but remain outside.

The author also mentions that we are "anarcho-syndicalists." Who told him that? We are neither anarchists nor syndicalists. Anarchism is a philosophy which opposes organization. Syndicalism is a "loose federation of trade or industrial unions." The I. W. W. is the **organization of revolutionary industrial unionism**, broadly patterned after capitalist business monopolies, and whether the workers of the world win their economic emancipation under the I. W. W. administration or not, they will win it only by using the scientific, practical class war tactics of the I. W. W.

In conclusion let me advise Mr. Saposs that while the I. W. W. is rapidly recovering from the 1924 controversy, the Emergency Program gang are rickety and disappearing by their own internal disaffection. Whatever vestige of it remains by this fall will be converted by the 110 migratory harvest workers. To place us in the category with them is grossly unfair and utterly ridiculous. Our financial statements, our activities, our ten publications, numerous halls and general solvency bear this out.

Saposs says he got much of his information from members in the Rocky Mountains. That might be an interesting way to get facts, and again it might

not. Why not visit 3333 Belmont Avenue in Chicago to get the truth from our financial reports, which are accurate? The I. W. W. has done more for the American working class than any other organization, and it will yet give to this class the means of delivering itself from the wage system.

The rest of the book deals with the history and theories of radical union tactics, dual unionism, amalgamation, boring from within, etc. Even though the author has failed to appraise the I. W. W. correctly, the volume is instructive. —Morris Adler.

LEFT WING UNIONISM, by David J. Saposs, International Publishers, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York. Published in 1926, 192 pages. Price \$1.60.

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“When thunders of rebellion shake the world,” such as the titanic fury of the French storm toward the close of the 18th Century, it is certain that a many-faceted literature will reflect the conflict’s somber hues, and also the rays of glory breaking when the rumblings at last die away. Writers, according to their various fancies, find an apparently endless impulse to portray the battle of giants. We have, thus, a voluminous literature of the French Revolution.

It is with circumspection that one should place pen to paper where treatment has been so detailed and universal, where interpretation has been as diverse as the peculiarities of human imagination, passion and rectitude. An eagle’s flight is not comprehensible to the toad; ability to create a portrait rests on the artist’s capacity to understand his subject, profoundly, intimately, sympathetically. And pygmies would do well not to appraise titans. Thus many accounts of the French struggle fall short. The merchant class fought for its place in the sun, a place eclipsing all other classes and destroying, with the aid of the workers, royalism, and the nobility with roots in the land. But, again, the mark is frequently overshot by shafts released from hands that would, in receiving the counterfeit gold of “Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality,” believe it to be pure.

A strong hand has guided the pen which wrote “The Game of Love and Death,” a hand of command, urged to strokes of compelling beauty, and rare understanding. Romain Rolland holds before our fascinated gaze a fragment from the book of revolution, revealing interests and passions, the fierce war of classes, intellects, emotions, that shook France so violently, and that, when threatened by the power of foreign kings, said in the genius of Danton “We shall fling to them the head of a king as a gauge of battle!”

A conventional, 60 years old, who is honored as a scientist, rebels against the Terror, but is, at first, afraid to speak. His wife is 35. She

respects her husband, is faithful to him, but loves a proscrip, who is himself a revolutionary. The latter, tiring of flight, with only her image to keep him alive when his friends, fearful of the axe, refuse him shelter, food, even a glass of water, returns to Paris and finds refuge in the scientist’s home. A spy reports this. The conventional comes home from the Convention and learns the situation. The house is soon ransacked. The lover is hidden. Later the host—Courvoisier—refuses to comply with a visiting political opponent’s request that he stand with Robespierre, the almighty (for the moment) power. Then the visitor gives him two passports so that he and his wife can leave France. He says that the burden of the scientist’s head is more than Robespierre can bear. This cynically.

When he goes out the conventional tells his wife and the proscrip to take the passports and escape. Jerome Courvoisier is prepared to stay and perish. The lover, filled with shame but also with a sudden reluctance to die, takes the passport. Sophie tears hers into bits. She elects to remain with her husband and mount the scaffold. The play ends with them speaking quietly of their last night together. Sophie, who shows a fine character throughout, says:

“If at least we were leaving a child behind us! . . . Why, why was life ever given us?”

Jerome: “For us to conquer it.”

(A silence. They have risen. Sophie, leaning against Jerome, looks at him and smiles in resignation. They stand, one in front of the other, and do not separate again. Sophie’s head is on Jerome’s shoulder. They do not even observe the door when it opens. Approaching voices are heard.)

Sophie: (With a melancholy smile) “To conquer . . . Farewell, my friend. The laurels are all cut.”

(A rough knocking at the door.)

Jerome: (Very tenderly) “The high wild woods of laurel . . .”

Sophie: (Pointing to a branch of lilac that has lain on the table since the opening scene.) No, give me instead that fading cluster of young blossoms, those lilacs . . .” (Courvoisier gives her the flowering branch. She kisses it. The door opens . . . A band of armed men.)

—E. F. Skeffington.

THE GAME OF LOVE AND DEATH, by Romain Rolland, Henry Holt and Company, One Park Avenue Building, New York. Price \$2.00.

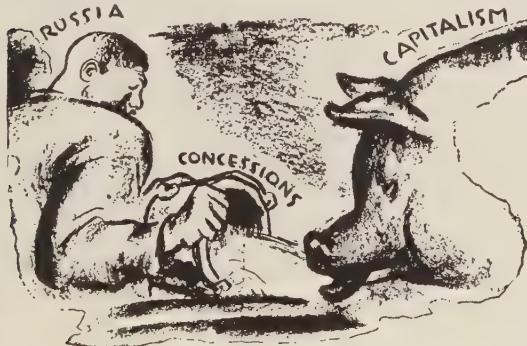
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Louis Fischer, who spent several years in Russia (1922 to 1925), has written an unusually informing book on the diplomatic game played Eurasian in the interests of oil monopolists. Oil He traces the motives of the great Grab powers in backing their rich nationals for securing petroleum terrains, with special emphasis on the Genoa Conference. Mr. Fischer admires Bolshevik statecraft and says that the Russian oil industry at Baku is gaining in efficiency and consequent production.

A too apparent espousal of the Soviet Govern-

ment cause injures the work which should be as far as possible an investigation and not a propaganda treatise. He frequently refers to the benefits alleged to be had by Russian workers under the Bolsheviks. We sincerely trust that this is true, but while the political prisoners are still kept in Siberia and the wage system rules, we have our doubts.

Concessions galore to the earth's most successful, hence most dangerous and heartless, capitalists must be secured by armed force. Capitalists will not invest without the guarantee of such security, and whether it is realized by a Bolshevik army over



the wage slaves or armed intervention by the governments of investing nationals, the workers must pay the price. If bayonets and gunboats protect foreign investments of financial empires, what can be expected of the long (49-year) leases but foreign invasion the moment the Russian workers (not Bolshevik officials, mind you) revolt for their deliverance from wage slavery?

It is regrettable that Russian politicians and not Russian workers must conduct the affairs of that country, and that the greater productivity of Russian resources proceeds from the more proficient technic of expropriating the producers for internal bureaucratic and foreign bourgeois gain.

Finally, let us say that perhaps the politically-minded Bolsheviks thought they did right in divorcing the workers from democratic control of the industries these same workers wrested from the Russian bourgeoisie. However, Kollantay and Souchy think a mistake was made in suppressing the proletarian voice. And even Lenin believed another revolution inevitable in which the Communist party itself must be overthrown by the workers. Is it, then, expediency or ethics which keeps revolutionary working class political prisoners in Siberia? If another revolution is required eventually to overthrow the present Moscow regime "counter-revolutionary" loses its villifying force, and we are justified in asking when is revolution revolution and when is it counter-revolution? Moreover, we have seen the increase of production in other capitalist countries synchronize with the debasement of the workers of these other lands, and therefore do not necessarily relate the mounting Russian production,

in oil or anything else, to any absolute betterment in the living standard of Russian workers.

Still, this is a digression out of the practical scope of points chiefly treated by the author of the best book on oil stealing yet written. I recommend its reading to workers who want to know what oil means to their class and to world diplomacy.

—James L. Carpenter.

OIL IMPERIALISM, by Louis Fischer, 1926, International Publishers, New York. Price, \$2.00.

THE STRIKER

By ROBERT WHITAKER

Many have sung the soldier
From the rude, red days of old
To this madder hour of more murderous power,
And death schemes manifold.
But no one has sung the striker,
Though a better fighter he
For the living cause and the larger laws
Of the empire that is to be.

Many have sung the statesman
Of nation and state and clan;
Though he served himself from the purse of pelf
And lorded it over man.
Yet greater than he, the striker,
Lacking both fame and fee,
At the cost of all he has built the wall
Of the city that is to be.

Many have sung the scholar,
Maker of book and school;
Though his ease was earned by the throng unlearned
Who slaved that the few might rule.
But the lore and law of the striker
Setteth the whole world free,
Neither ease nor toil shall the spirit spoil
In the knowledge that is to be.

Many have sung the saintly,
The pure of all times and creeds;
But alas, the good have denied the food
For even the children's needs.
Kinder by far the striker.
And truly more righteous he,
For he stakes his meal on the common weal
And the justice that is to be.

Some day, when all are toilers,,
And nobody toils for naught;
When the worker rules over kirks and schools,
And shapes all the realms of thought;
They shall sing the song of the striker,
No longer an outcast he,
But with arms abreast he shall stand confessed
In the triumph that is to be.

Revolutionizing "Clinton's Big Ditch"

By T. P. SULLIVAN



STEEL MOTORSHIP IN THE ERIE CANAL

EOR many years the industrial development of the United States has taken vast strides forward, particularly in the marine industry. In this one industry more progress has been made in the last hundred years than in all its previous history. This development was brought about through the invention of steam power and created a new era in marine transportation. Many articles have been written dealing with the development and evolution of the tools of production in the marine industry. We have learned that the Indians hewed down trees and burned out the centers of them in order to make canoes to transport their warriors in times of strife and conquest against hostile tribes and also to use them for peaceful pursuits, when harvesting their crops, etc., and of the period of the sailing ships with their great stretches of canvas afloat in the breeze driving the ship onward through the trade routes to the ports of the world.

Fulton's Steamboat

The invention of the steamboat by Robert Fulton was an epic in the history of marine transportation which revolutionized marine trading and made man the master instead of the slave of the elements. Heretofore man embarked upon sailing ships not as master but as slave of the elements and many months, even years, were consumed in the completion of a voyage. The elements had to be contended with and used when it was to the advantage of the ship and fought when they reached their fury and threatened destruction to the ship and its crew. The invention of the steamboat did away with the necessity of the sailing ship and the elements necessary to carry the ship over the trade routes into the ports of the world.

Steam was now the dominating factor in the propulsion of ships, and man was able to defy the elements, as ships raced around the world from port to port, the wind singing through the masts and rigging and columns of dense smoke emitting

from their squat stacks in defiance. The ships ploughed through mountainous seas into ports of refuge. The development of the Diesel engine made it possible for ships to be propelled without steam, and the Flettner rotor-sail without artificial propulsion, but with all the safeguards of modern invention as it affects development of marine transportation. The story of the heroism of the crew of the S. S. Roosevelt is too fresh in our minds to repeat, but was made possible by the invention of wireless telegraphy.

As this onward stride takes place in types of ships and the methods of propulsion and safety another important development is also taking place which also revolutionizes transportation. This is the development of inland waterways and canals. Many large bodies of water have been connected by the building of canals, such as the Panama Canal which connects the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and the Suez Canal which connects the Mediterranean and the Red Seas and in that way

the Indian Ocean. The development of these engineering projects makes it possible for ships to cut the distance of voyages in half and also to avoid passing through treacherous bodies of water such as rounding Cape Horn in the Western Hemisphere and the Cape of Good Hope in the Eastern Hemisphere.

The Great Lakes of North America are known as the "inland seas" and the largest bodies of fresh water in the world. On these waters steam huge freighters carrying the output of the coal mines of the middle Atlantic and the Central States to the upper lake ports and returning with the iron ore from the Mesaba Range and the golden grain of the West. The ore is unloaded at the steel plants in the lower lake ports and the grain is sent to Port Colborne or Buffalo where it is unloaded and reshipped to the Atlantic seaboard and the ports of the world.

Beginning of Erie Canal

For more than a century and a half people who were interested have talked of connecting the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean by a ship canal. The first attempt to improve the inland waterways in New York State was undertaken by private companies chartered in 1792. A portion of the series of locks built by the Inland Navigation Company at Little Falls is still in place. This project was on a small scale and was built to take care of the immediate needs at the time.

The first state canal construction work was begun on July 4, 1817, at Rome, N. Y., and the Erie, or main branch, was completed in 1825. This was known as the Erie Canal, and it is doubtful if any transportation project was ever a greater success. This canal had a bottom width of 28 feet, a width at water surface of 40 feet, with a four foot depth of water. The first boats on this canal carried 75 tons. On the first trip down the canal a breaker of water from Lake Erie was carried and emptied into New York Harbor, signifying the connection of the two bodies of water. As in many cases where huge experiments are made in the interest of progress, the reactionary multitudes sneered at De Witt Clinton, the governor of New York at the time and the father of the project, predicting failure for the canal and terming it "Clinton's ditch" and "Clinton's folly." The canal was a huge success both from a financial standpoint and as a means of transportation. Power was furnished by mules who were driven along a path on the bank of the canal, the tugs on the harness being attached to the canal boats. This was the only means of propulsion at the time, and lasted for many years.

Up to the year of 1883, when tolls were abolished on the canal, it had repaid the state not only all it had cost for construction, operation and maintenance, but it had turned in the handsome profit of \$43,599,177 over and above these charges.

What was of greater benefit than the profit concerned, was the fact that the Erie Canal fostered the growth of that great industrial zone which, with its chain of cities and factories extends from Buffalo to Troy and on down the Hudson River to end at Greater New York. When the railroads appeared they found this well established trade route, so that as a traffic line to the West it was not only the first in point of time, but it has remained the first in importance in the United States.

Interesting Facts About the "Ditch"

The first enlargement work on the Erie Canal was commenced in 1836 and finished in 1862. The bottom was increased to a maximum of 56 feet, and at the water line to 70 feet, with a depth of seven feet. In 1896 the work of deepening the Erie Canal to nine feet was begun, but was completed only at disconnected localities.

As the population of the states in the Middle West increased, lake commerce grew in proportion and the agitation for a deeper waterway between the inland seas and the ocean became more pronounced. The Canal was again reconstructed and called the New York State Barge Canal. This improved route was opened in 1918. The minimum width at the bottom of this canal was 75 feet, width at the surface 123 feet (minimum) and a minimum depth of 12 feet. This new canal contained 35 locks which had a length of 328 feet, a width of 45 feet and a depth of 12 feet at the sills. The route was as follows: Starting at the government lock at Troy, it followed the Hudson River to Waterford, where the westward turn is made. A land cut of two miles in length is utilized to the Mohawk River into a pool created by the construction of a fixed concrete dam. The Mohawk River at the canal channel entrance is at an elevation of 169.5 feet above the surface of the Hudson River at Waterford and is 184 feet higher than sea level at Albany. This canal channel entrance is two miles from Waterford and in this distance there are five locks in which the canal fleets are elevated 169.5 feet. The operation takes about seventy minutes. From this point navigation is carried through the canalized Mohawk River, with short land cuts at intervals, past the City of Schenectady to Frankfort, thence through an artificial channel that parallels the Mohawk River, to Rome, and crossing the divide, enters the Oswego Water-shed, ten miles west of Rome and, following Wood Creek for five miles, reaches the eastern end of Oneida Lake.

This lake is the largest natural body of water in the canal system, the channel stretching across a distance of 21 miles to Brewerton at its western end. From Brewerton, the Oneida River is followed to its junction with the Seneca River at Three River Point, thence through the Seneca River to the Clyde River, and to and through the Clyde River to the foot of Lock No. 27 at Lyons. Here

the bed of the Ganargua Creek is utilized, with frequent land cuts, to Palmyra, from which place the channel lies in the former Erie Canal, widened and deepened to a point just west of Pittsford.

An artificial channel there exists to the Genessee River, which is crossed about two miles south of the Rochester Terminal on a pool created by a movable dam, and traffic enters what is locally known as the 60-mile level, consisting of an enlargement of the former Erie Canal, to Lockport.

At Lockport, by means of two combined locks, navigation is raised 50 feet to the elevation of the Niagara River, and thence an artificial channel is utilized to Tonawanda Creek. The canalized creek is followed to its junction with the Niagara River at Tonawanda. Through the Niagara River traffic passes to Lake Erie at Buffalo, the vessel being raised to the level of the lake by the government

miles an hour. Some of the larger motorships on the canal make a speed of about ten miles an hour and are usually run on schedule. The Standard Oil Company and Interwaterways Line, Inc., operate a fleet of motorships which have express service.

The usual length of the navigation season is about eight months, from April to December. The canal is available at all hours, and the channel is well lighted at night.

To maintain an adequate supply of water to support canal navigation many sources are utilized. From Lake Erie and the Niagara River the water finds its way through Tonawanda Creek into the canal channel and as far east as Palmyra, navigation is deepened solely on the Lake Erie supply.

At Palmyra, the channel lies in the bed of Ganargua Creek, whose line is followed to Lyons where the western feed is supplemented by the dis-



Movable Dam on Canalized Mohawk River, Showing Lock at Left

lock at Squaw Island. The distance from Troy to Lake Erie at Buffalo is 355 miles, of which 215 miles lie in natural waterways and 140 miles through artificial channels.

Along the canal there is a clearance of 16 feet under bridges and guard gates. There are no tolls on the canal, and there are 43 terminal warehouses situated along the canal at various ports as well as a grain elevator in Brooklyn with a capacity of 2,000,000 bushels of grain.

To mark the channel through canalized rivers and lakes where considerable width of water exists, an elaborate system of buoys and lights is maintained. At present about 2,100 lighted aids to navigation of various types are in place.

Many Diesel Engines Used

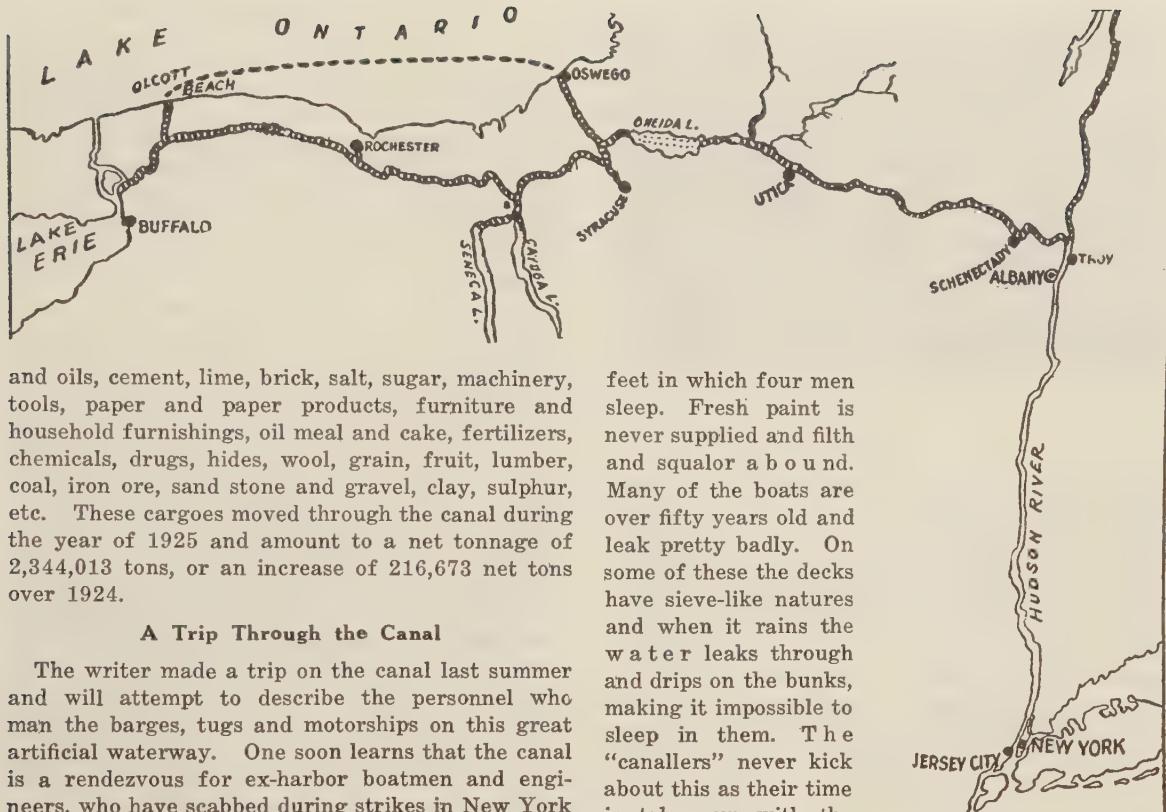
The type of power used on the present canal is steam, although many tugs of later construction have Diesel engines installed, and the average speed of these tugs with a fleet in tow is about four

charge from the outlet of Canandaigua Lake. Through the Seneca River come the waters from the great natural reservoirs, Cayuga and Seneca lakes.

Diversified Cargoes Carried

East of Oneida Lake there exists the most difficult problem from the standpoint of water supply, and to insure an adequate boating depth in the areas to be served, four systems of reservoirs have been created. The Delta Reservoir four miles north of Rome has a storage capacity of 2,750,000,000 cubic feet of water. The water is fed into the new channel at Rome. Another reservoir, which is known as the Hinckley Reservoir, has a storage capacity of 3,445,000,000 cubic feet.

There are no tolls on the canal, and it is maintained on the profit taken from the old Erie Canal previous to 1883 when tolls were abolished. The cargoes transported over the canal are various. According to the report published for the year of 1925, recently issued, the following are some of the cargoes: iron, steel, other metals, petroleum



and oils, cement, lime, brick, salt, sugar, machinery, tools, paper and paper products, furniture and household furnishings, oil meal and cake, fertilizers, chemicals, drugs, hides, wool, grain, fruit, lumber, coal, iron ore, sand stone and gravel, clay, sulphur, etc. These cargoes moved through the canal during the year of 1925 and amount to a net tonnage of 2,344,013 tons, or an increase of 216,673 net tons over 1924.

A Trip Through the Canal

The writer made a trip on the canal last summer and will attempt to describe the personnel who man the barges, tugs and motorships on this great artificial waterway. One soon learns that the canal is a rendezvous for ex-harbor boatmen and engineers, who have scabbed during strikes in New York Harbor and were driven out by the enraged strikers immediately after the strikes terminated.

There is no union on the canal, although several members of the I. W. W., including myself, have made one or two trips on it. Besides the scabs the great majority of the boatmen are backwoodsmen, many of them unable to read or write. They are not interested in better conditions and are content to spend their meagre wages on moonshine and wild women, which are plentiful along the canal route.

These people are distinct from the ordinary class of seamen and many of them have spent their entire lives on the canal, and the result is that their minds are about as broad as the canal itself. Needless to say, popular prejudices abound, and the hate of the foreigner and the radical is supreme. Many of the men on these boats are very elderly and enjoy telling tales of the "Old Erie Canal, when we worked twenty hours a day." It is hard to reason with these hoosiers, and a strong back and weak mind are the most important qualifications to obtain employment.

They are termed "canallers." The food and wages on the canal are fair, but long hours of labor and filthy foc'sles which are infested with vermin, more than offset the fairness in other respects. In the summer the mosquitoes are thick on the canal and enter the "glory holes" where the men sleep. Practically all the boats are the same. The sleeping quarters are holes about 8 feet by 5

feet in which four men sleep. Fresh paint is never supplied and filth and squalor abound. Many of the boats are over fifty years old and leak pretty badly. On some of these the decks have sieve-like natures and when it rains the water leaks through and drips on the bunks, making it impossible to sleep in them. The "canallers" never kick about this as their time is taken up with the thought of the next lock, and a bottle of moonshine which is so easily secured. On some of these tugs and canal boats the crews are in an intoxicated stupor at all times, and much damage results, such as crashing lock gates and guard bridges and running the fleet aground, high and dry on the shore, when the pilot is feeling the effects of the moonshine. Many of the more sober men are afraid to sleep in the "holes" when the pilot is drunk, as it doesn't take much to sink a fifty-year-old wooden boat. It is hard for the decent class of seamen to stay aboard these boats very long, and many of them quit in disgust after a short period.

Booze and Accidents

Regardless of the merits of prohibition and the Volstead Act, the towns along the canal are as wet as the canal itself, and sinkings are quite frequent due to the inebriation of the pilots and engineers as well as the rest of the crew.

This condition is well known to those entrusted with the guardianship of law and order as can be readily seen from the report of the superintendent of the Department of Public Works at Albany recently issued.

This paragraph is significant: "As has been pointed out before, the Eighteenth Amendment is responsible for many of the complaints that are made regarding the condition of the canal. Judicial notice can be taken that evidently it is not difficult to obtain bootleg liquor at certain places along the



Little Falls Lock, Highest Lift on Canal, 40.5 Feet

canal. Reports have come in of intoxication aboard the boats. The alibi of every captain who runs aground or gets out of the channel through improper navigation is that the proper depth has not been maintained. We have had numerous complaints of boats drawing nine feet striking bottom when in the same week and under exactly the same conditions boats drawing over ten feet have gone through the same channel without striking. It will never be possible to prevent the complaint of shallow channel because so long as captains have to report to boat owners they are going to give the best alibi they can, and the best alibi is that the channel depth has not been maintained."

Concentration of Canal Capital

With the exception of the "Green Fleet," Transmarine Corporation and a few big towing companies the boats are owned by individuals and are worked on shares. On some tugs as many as three or four individuals own shares in the tug and attempt to squeeze every penny of profit out of the investment.

As in all industries the tendency to wipe out the small competitor is also prevalent in the marine industry, and is readily seen on the canal. We find the owners of large steamship companies entering the trade and taking away the business of the small boat owners. The latest to try this is the Munson Line which will have a fleet of barges and tugs on the canal this summer. It is only a matter of time when the small fry will be wiped out and forced into the ranks of the wage slaves and the employ of the larger companies.

The success of the inland canal as a means of transportation and connection of larger bodies of water has developed these canals at a tremendous pace in the past fifty years, and as time goes on the necessity for a deep water canal to accommodate ocean-going ships has become the topic of discussion in the marine world. The enormous freight rates in existence on the railroads has compelled shippers to look for more economical means of transportation and the result is the agitation for a deep water ship canal between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean.

Proposed Deep Water Ship Canal

Two routes are suggested, one through the United States and Canada, with its outlet to the Atlantic at the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the other the revolutionizing and reconstruction of the New York State Barge Canal. The sabre rattlers and war lords are recommending the all-American route, so that it will be controlled by the United States in time of war and can be used for the transportation of supplies.

The five Great Lakes are the means of transportation by water for a large territory. The states bordering on them are large in area, population and production. These lake states with the more westerly ones now produce an enormous tonnage of both agricultural and manufactured products. And as the years go by the output of farm and factory will increase and the demand for cheaper water transportation to the markets of the world will become more insistent. There is also the development of hydro-electricity on the canal and there are at present nine dams in existence from which power to run the canal is withdrawn at present and the waterpower possibilities are enormous.

In order to convert the Barge Canal into a deep water ship canal it will be necessary to deepen the canal to 25 feet and remove all the low bridges and guard gates that ships may pass.

The route that ocean ships will take is from New York to Waterford through the Canal to the junction of the Oswego Canal to Oswego, and thence across Lake Ontario to the Welland Canal into Lake Erie and the ports of the Great Lakes. This plan as drafted by engineers has the principal backing and appears to be the most feasible and superior to the St. Lawrence project. The St. Lawrence project would start at the eastern end of Lake Ontario through the St. Lawrence River Valley and the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the sea, a distance of about 1,200 miles, closed for four months of the year and risky to ships from the danger of icebergs during the greater part of the year outside the gulf of St. Lawrence. The route across New York State would start at Oswego on Lake Ontario through the present canal to the Mohawk and valley and thence to the Hudson at Troy. This is a distance of only 166 miles.

It has been argued that canal navigation is too slow to meet modern traffic requirements, but a rate of five miles an hour is admitted to be practical on the proposed canal; this means that the actual canal journey can be made in 33½ hours. The trip on the broadened and deepened Hudson to Sandy Hook is only 165 miles. Here steamers can run at full speed, say ten miles an hour. The entire trip then can be made in 50 hours. This route is seldom troubled with fogs and ends at New York Harbor where the ocean is free from the menace of icebergs.

History repeats itself, and as Clinton was condemned one hundred years ago, so are the exponents of this immense project. The deepening of the canal for ocean traffic is being opposed by the small boat owners on the canal and in true "hoosier-like" style they cry out to the politicians to prevent it, but it appears as though it will go through as scheduled as it means progress, and when the canal is completed inland New York will

assume more of a cosmopolitan attitude and the prejudices now popular there will be wiped away and then the "canallers" may be subject to reason, and I. W. W. literature and doctrines will educate them the same as they have educated the seamen of the world, but which as yet has failed to reach the alcohol soaked and degenerate brains of the "backwoods boatmen" who inhabit the State Barge Canal.

REVOLUTION

By JAMES LYNCH

THE American workman wants no revolution. He is constructive not destructive." So says William Green, true to his policy of adhering to Mr. Gompers's principles—harmony between Capital and Labor—class collaboration. Were this great misleader living in the Feudal Ages, his philosophy would probably read something like this:

"The European serf wants no revolution. He is constructive not destructive."

However, history has shown that the idea that revolution is destructive is false, and that all progress is made possible by means of revolution. When a social system has fulfilled its purpose, it must go. Men must adapt themselves to their conditions of life or perish. Changes in the methods of production produce

new conditions of life, which in turn bring about revolution. Ruling class attempts to prop up an outgrown system—to interfere with the forward march of progress—are not only destructive, but have been shown to be

futile and useless. Every social system that is known was brought about by and destroyed by revolution. Capitalism is no exception. It was brought into existence by revolution, and it contains the seeds of its own destruction.

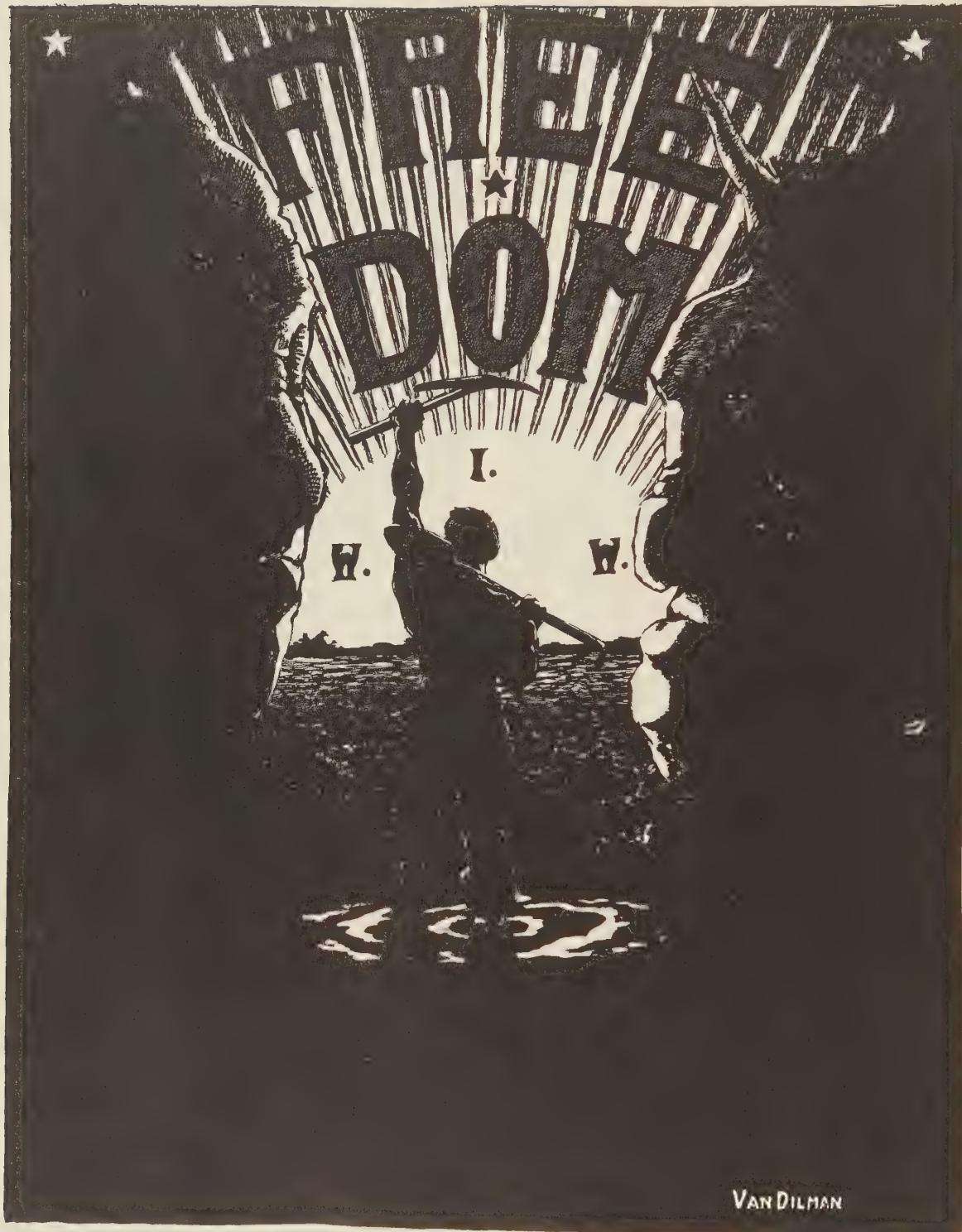
With the introduction of machinery there came a struggle between those who wanted to exploit the workers as

serfs and those who wanted to exploit them as wage slaves. The capitalists won out. Capitalism, being better adapted to the new methods of production, completely displaced feudalism.

The mission of capitalism is now accomplished, and we have a struggle between those who own the machinery of production and the many tool-less who must beg for permission to use those machines in order to eke out a

miserable existence. The struggle will continue until the workers of the world organize as a class, and overthrow the system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution. Revolution is inevitable.





This Way to Industrial Democracy!

Westward the Flag of Empire Wends its Way

By J. A. VAN DILMAN

VENTS that must shake the world to its foundations are fated to transpire in and around the Pacific. The flag of World Empire shifts from Western Europe to Eastern Asia, with America occupying a prominent place in a pause prefatory to the move that will prove its last. Curiously enough and in line with evolutionary theory its trip around the globe parallels a first chapter in the volume of human history which with its closing prepares for burial all foregone systems detrimental to society and the bursting forth of a glorious tomorrow from the red-scarred womb of preceding ages.

Many of us already mature in years are destined to witness this turning point in the history of man which is about to bring forth in anguished upheaval, greater than any we have yet experienced, the beginning of an era of Industrial Democracy based on production for social use instead of exploitation for the glory of the few—which acknowledging one structural form, shall know “neither race, creed nor color,” and no principle other than the “World and its Wealth to the Workers.”

Like a coastline whose general direction is north and south, but which seemingly points toward everything but its goal, historic evolution of the race trends unobtrusively to an ultimate end. Neither waves of revolutionary progress nor years of repression and black reaction can deflect it more than temporarily from a course along which it advances almost unconsciously to acceptance of ideals which yesterday were the ravings of lunatics, today are radical nightmares, and which will be the matter-of-fact truths of tomorrow.

To many, not having closely analyzed or having done so locally, narrowly or superficially, workers taken as a whole seem a hopeless, almost stupid lot; apparently incapable of rising beyond personal or family interests even to those of group, craft or industrial unity, much less to a stage where they can understand and “feel” the necessity for international and racial co-operation.

This, while true, is to be expected of a development from an animal state where the race for survival has been so keen;

and its consequent conservatism while regrettable in that it has served to render humankind into a slow moving body obstructive of its own progress, yet had its excuse for being in times past when excess of caution was far more advisable than hare-brained adventuring. The old herd instinct has not been displaced by a new psychology in the few centuries since capitalism, discarding its swaddling clothes, has grown to a full, blooming maturity that, verging on arrogant senility, presages its early, inglorious demise; but it has indubitably and deliberately been misguided into false channels by successive ruling classes, all of them motivated by self interest as opposed to those of actual producers.

A heavy mass because of its ponderousness seldom moves except as a body; nor can it keep pace with elements created by processes within, which escaping because of their very fluidity, stream far in advance; heralds for a gathering momentum that follow in their wake irresistibly to crash all barriers standing in the pathway of destiny.

Radical elements, impatient for its fruit before the tree has matured, are often prone to hope prematurely for mass reaction to seemingly intolerable conditions and measuring time in terms of human experience, expect a conservative whole, whose psychology has been ingrained by pressure of ages, to respond readily to revolutionary propaganda which, alongside the blaring trumpets of master class discords, is weak-voiced indeed. Now a moment's reflection should convince that a collective mentality hardly awake to the

weight of its chains cannot be roused to sudden, simultaneous rebellion by mere magic words in a matter of months—even years; themselves but fleeting moments in the history of its evolution.

On the other hand, to believe that Labor's seeming immobility is permanent and unchangeable places us in a class with Bourbons of all time, for the good natured brute while inclined to follow lines of the least resistance "can" be roused to action by repeated proddings.

What Crises Develop

Many who have given the best years of their lives in unremitting, enthusiastic toil for the organization of workers into a form eminently fitted to cope with arising conditions, have succumbed to despair in the face of Labor's seeming torpidity. Yet we believe that hopeless as their combined sacrifices may appear on the surface, they have been effective of deep-seated results which only a real crisis can reveal.

Who for instance would have ventured the prediction that an army of Russian mouziks could be prevailed on to desert almost *en masse*—and in face of cold-blooded court-martial—the banners of its overlords? Reasons for organization of such a stupendous and dangerous undertaking might have been based on the clearest of logic, yet it would have been sheer insanity to attempt it unless conditions augered success. Very few would have dared such a venture ordinarily and they without solidarity of their fellows would have been summarily disposed of.

Still, four years' horror in the trenches;—ragged, half-starved and helpless;—facing with bare bayonets all the death-dealing efficiency of Germany's war machine, solidified these peasants instinctively to the point of accomplishing what under any other circumstances no kind of propaganda could have stirred them to.

To become discouraged after years of apparently fruitless toil in behalf of industrial organization proves nothing but the unsoundness of our own profundity and knowledge of the class struggle; for a change is taking place, even in the attitude of individualistic America, against that time when the structure of a "New Society" shall burst to freedom through the "shell of the old." Nor should we, becoming impatient, race too far in advance of plodding masses who more shortsighted, cannot vision glories of a far seeming future,—but tempering eagerness with dogged perseverance, strive to keep in touch with our main army wherein all power resides.

Mass mentality, scarcely capable of other than interests simple and direct, cannot be enthused by questions except as they are enforced upon its immediate consciousness; because, stultified and rusty from long disuse, its visionary power is impaired and naught remains but subconscious desire for better

things; wherefore muddling along somehow it makes mistake after mistake, to waken finally in the face of great crisis to a sense of responsibility and realization of its own invulnerable strength.

There are individuals, only too many in fact, who "never" learn, but we speak of a collective mind which constantly changing its component parts "does" improve gradually, should we trouble to scrutinize its history for a period of, say, even twenty years.

How long since is it that harmless soap-boxers were greeted with rotten eggs, and brick-bats, or at least with derision? The ordinary man was gullible enough not so long ago to accept as "gospel truth" any weird tale interested parties might choose to circulate regarding socialism in any of its forms. Even the "Initiative, Referendum and Recall" was considered a wild dream of radicals up to comparatively recent times.

Today the average worker has arrived at a stage where the Santa Claus of Capitalism's tale is regarded as a more or less disagreeable humbug, but retaining outworn traces of an individualism acquired under easier environment, he still has glimmering hopes of rising "personally" into fringes of the profit system; which make it possible for him to condone its errors and evils. This state of mind is encouraged deliberately and with malice aforethought by the master class as one method of maintaining itself. Still, times do move and with them come faint stirrings of a proletarian conscience. We are progressing, and where the pace is too slow "interests" eagerly kick us in the pants to a position of further advancement in class solidarity.

Workers More Driven Than Fooled

On the other hand we are confronted with a seeming tendency toward reactionary sentiment among wage slaves. This would be discouraging were it not for one thing that deprives it of sting. Quite lately we were treated to the phenomenon of mob psychology at work yelling for La Follette and electing Coolidge; an incident quite immaterial we cheerfully grant, but proof nevertheless that the average voter thinks he knows what he wants but doesn't know how to get even that. Waiving interest in its political aspects, it evidences that the worker is no longer so much being fooled as driven. This of itself may seem cause to some for utter despair, yet we hail it as indicative of the beginning of the end for a system thus forced into exerting economic or other pressure to accomplish its aims.

The master, conscious of his class, has been and is concentrating into industrial units which become so powerful that without similar alignment workers are helpless as individual snowflakes in the face of a blast furnace.

Coolidge could hardly be considered an idol except with Wall Street and was elected by threat of economic force emanating from haunts of barons who form an "extra legal executive board" which dictates down to the last hound dog in America.

"No Coolidge and Dawes: No job and no wages" was the insinuation which cracked our heels together to stand at attention. Thus explained, another bug-a-boo—that of working class reaction—resolves itself into a question of industrial pressure through fear of unemployment, the blacklist and other enabling innovations of money hungry morons who, gone crazy with power, lust to degrade honest wage earners to a level with themselves.

This is as it should be, for rebellion cannot thrive except in soil of oppression, and it is to be considered a matter for congratulation that night sticks and gas bombs become more and more popular as methods of enforcing capital's "golden rule ethics" where sugar teats known as "the full dinner pail" and "pie in the sky" formally served so efficiently and well.

The world is uneasy—a sure sign that something brews in the cauldron of near future events. The heart of capital, ever contemptuous of a class that has rendered itself into unthinking slavery, flutters with fear of a "Frankenstein monster" which dimly craves to devour its own creator.

Where and how will be staged the great drama out of which a class, that has drifted down the ages in slavery of one form or another, must emerge victorious over all parasitical by-products of preceding experimental ages or fail dismally of its purpose?

Like the surging of tides, nomadic humanity at one time rolled its overwhelming surplus out of vast barrens of the Orient in search of new lands and homes and among its ranks there waved the "Flag of Empire" borne aloft from the cradle of our race. This influx, hardy and daring, assimilated and absorbed, produced stock whose fresh virility was no doubt responsible for much of Europe's aggressiveness during succeeding centuries and elements of which later were carried along with its customs and ideals to America; there to strengthen for the final leap of its institutions across the Pacific, where riding to power on the crest of success, the whole structure of human exploitation must tremble momentarily before crashing to utter destruction.

Bosses Hungry For the Far East

The Flag of Empire grown ragged and rotten with human blood rests for a time in an arrogant America that lacking unity of thought and harmony of understanding without which, settling into a state of somnolent bliss is impossible—and possessed of natural resources necessary to power—has become the dominant factor of an age where distances are annihilated by modern systems of communication and transportation; to stand just now at a high peak of power and prosperity as judged by standards of governing interests.

The key to our problem lies in Far Eastern parts. Capital, rapidly concentrating and burn-

ing its candle at both ends, seeks to reduce production and distribution to a perfected robber science and, unheeding that it is already forced to high pressure methods of salesmanship which mortgage a great part of our future earning capacity, and proposes still further to cut down an already limited world market and depress standards of existence to a low universal level by creating more millions of wage slaves. This, with an eye among several things, toward avoiding immediate troubles connected with importation of coolie labor into other lands, by transplanting industry bodily to the home of cheap labor power and stupendous resources laying to hand almost untouched.

Already the field has been ploughed. China, Japan, and India among other Oriental nations, have proven their worth to the master but here enter factors whose effect will prove so cataclysmic as to rend clouds of despair for sight of the new flaming day.

Labor Alone Is Immortal

The seed of destruction is already at work—a disease germ of greed that knowing no bounds must rage on to its end. This system may barely survive to accomplish international capitalism, but Labor alone, basing its rights on truth and justice for a majority, has as many lives as the human race.

A dozen hands reach across seven seas to grasp each the same prize, while China and India schooled in passive resistance and long practiced in clannish lore, already rise to national consciousness which spells easy acceptance of a working class philosophy capable of routing exploitation on every front.

Not that international "Wolves of Capital" will hesitate at appalling massacre in an attempt to bring such vast resources under control. Organized thuggery on an unprecedented scale, first by mercenaries and later by various national military forces, will prevail. Even now China with its half billion people begins a life and death struggle against exploiters that combining for conquest are as ready to spring at one another, once the quarry lies quivering at their feet.

War—on such an unprecedent scale as to horrify its own instigators however, nervously brooding over Eastern Asia; is ready to crash with all its mangled hideousness into the lime-light, till every nation is involved and pulled down in one world wide welter of bloody catastrophe. Thus wends the Flag of world Empire; proud flaunted by reaction to its final ending; on soil which having given birth to its glories, prepares for its burial under chaotic debris, out of which Labor awakened shall step forth to seize levers of International Industry for production of peace, plenty, and a form of democracy that only slaves who too long have toiled in sweat and died in unsung misery are capable of appreciating.





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THE CRIME OF CRIMES!

BRITISH STRIKE MAY TIE UP BIG GOLF TOURNEYS

—Chicago TRIBUNE headline.

ANOTHER HORRIBLE ONE!

VACATION OF THE PRINCE SPOILED BY THE STRIKE

GENTLE GESTURE

We have been accused of being "too sarcastic" by the leading authorities on sarcasm. They are mistaken. We're the other guy. My sarcasm is just **sour enough**, and carefully compounded like felony or prescriptions. And if I make it less sarcastic, my sarcastic readers will sour "on my efforts" and start wondering if the editor has lost his mind for printing it.

The other day, when, sicker than usual, we hies ourselves over to a clinic, to be tuned up. The doctor sat us in a chair and made soundings and took observations—murmured something about “symptoms indicate” to his sweet looking apprentices who profoundly nodded in perfect comprehension. . . . I was given a nickel’s worth of throat gargle for 50 cents, plus 25 cents admission—and was told to take five drops with a glass of water three times a day.

Well sir, the three glasses of water have failed to cure me.

Now, I don't know but the doctor knows what is the matter with me, and I believe that he truthfully told his apprentices what is the matter with me—now they know—but why in the name of blazes didn't he hand me the cure?

As an "experiment" I was a perfect success—

and I would have made an ideal "object lesson" for the rest of the summer.

Unfortunately I'm very sensitive even to most delicate swindling. . . . "Ah," they say, "you've been getting sick 50 years—it will take a long time to cure you."

Indeed! Well, in that case, I'd hate to have you repairing an electric light system—we'd have to stay in darkness too long.

Do you call that sarcasm?

—T-Bone Slim.

TYPOGRAPHICAL

A compositor, finding himself out of work, was lucky enough to get a job as waiter.

One of his first customers, when he served with soup, called him back and said:

"Waiter, there's a button in this soup."

"Very sorry," replied the waiter. "Printer's error—should be mutton."

A JUDGE THINKS

He had already sentenced the usual line-up of able-bodied men to the workhouse. The last victim up, waiting for hizzoner to say something, was a one-armed man. Hizzoner thought it wouldn't be very profitable to send a one-armed man to the workhouse. Suddenly the face of the judge brightened.

"Oh, yes, I have it," he said. "Sixty days turning the grindstone."—**Carl Degner.**

WHOSE UNITED STATES?

One per cent of the total population owns about one-half of the total wealth of the country. Two per cent of the population own about two-thirds of the wealth. Two-thirds of the population owns nothing worth listing. Do you see what George Huddleston, labor congressman from Alabama, meant at the beginning of the war when he asked why the people that own the country shouldn't be left to fight for it?—**Brookwood Review.**

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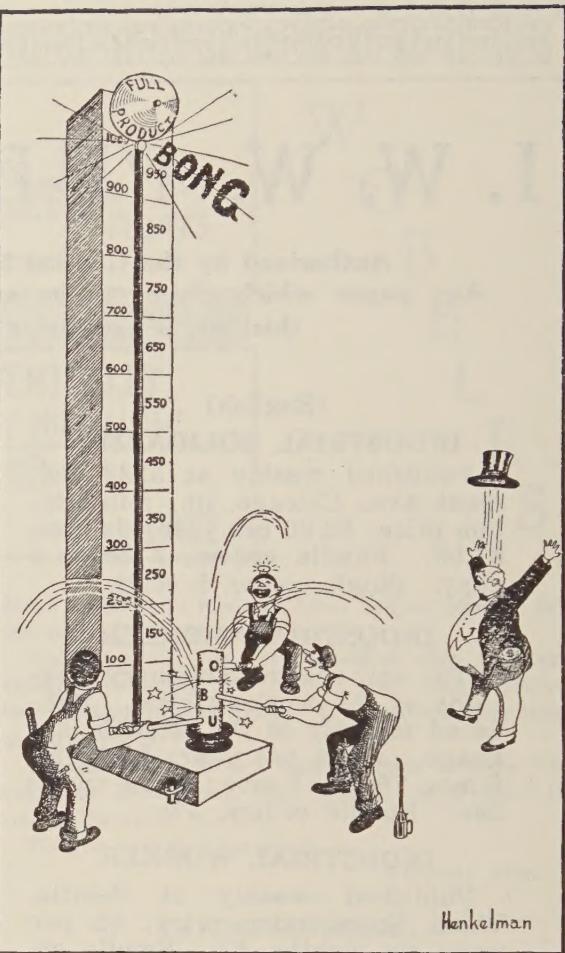
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